A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

From the TIME that the

PHOENICIANS

First Landed in this ISLAND,

To the End of the REIGN of

King *GEORGE* I.

Taken from the best AUTHORS and MANUSCRIPTS.

By WILLIAM BLENNERHASSETT, *Esq*;

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MDCCLI.

a Guard, commanded by the Earl of *Essex*; but he bid them make their Request in Writing. 1641.

The young Gentlemen of the Inns of Court gathered together, and went to *Whitehall*, to offer their Service to the King, who received them graciously.

The King, in his Answer to the Request about a Guard, assured the Commons, they needed not to harbour any Jealousies or Fears; yet, if they desired it, he would send them such a Guard as he would be responsible for.

The King, by the Advice of the Lord *Digby*, who was his chief Counseller at this Time, took a very imprudent Step. Sir *Edward Herbert*, Attorney-General, coming to the House of Peers, acquainted them, that the King had commanded him to accuse of High Treason the Lord *Kimbolton*, and five Commoners, namely, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, *John Pym*, *John Hampden*, and *William Stroud*, and delivered into the House the Articles of Impeachment; the Purport whereof was,

That they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom of *England*, to deprive the King of his Royal Power, and to place in Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical Power over the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of his Majesty's leige People.

It is hard to conceive what the King's Aim could be in this Accusation, and what

1641. he could expect from it; considering the Difficulties which presented themselves in Crowds, and which it was hardly possible not to foresee.

They were informed, that Sir *William Fleming*, Sir *William Killigrew*, and others, were come to the accused Members Houses, and sealed up their Trunks, Doors, and Papers: Whereupon the Commons sent their Serjeant to break open the Seals; and passed an Order, that if any Person should presume the like upon any Member for the future, they should be taken into Custody till further Order: That if any Person should offer to arrest or detain any Member, without first acquainting the House therewith, it should be lawful for such Member to stand upon his Guard of Defence, and for any Person to assist him.

The Commons, in a Conference with the Lords, acquainted them, that the King had ordered the Trunks and Studies of several Members to be sealed up, and had set a Guard in a warlike Manner at *Whitehall*; therefore desired, that a Guard might be placed about the Parliament, as should be approved of by both Houses.

During this Conference, a Serjeant at Arms came to the House of Commons from the King, and required the five Members accused by his Majesty. The Commons sent word to his Majesty, that they would return him an Answer as soon as they possibly could, and dismissed the Serjeant.

Mean

Mean while the Peers had made an Order to open the Doors and Trunks of the Members of both Houſes that were ſealed; and reſolved to join with the Commons in a Petition to the King for ſuch a Guard as both Houſes ſhould approve of. They alſo repreſented to the King, that the Privilege of Parliament had been violated. 1641.

The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, who offered themſelves to be Guard to his Majeſty, were ſent to, and examined upon a Rumour, that they were bid to be in readineſs the 4th of *January*. The Gentlemen anſwered, that they went to *Whitehall* to offer their Service to the King, upon hearing that his Perſon was in Danger; that they only had an Intent to defend the King's Perſon; and would do their utmoſt alſo to defend the Parliament.

The King came to the Houſe of Commons, and took the Speaker's Chair. It was reported, that he was come with a Guard to ſeize the five Members; upon which they withdrew: after which he made a Speech, his Guard waiting at the Door.

In his Speech he ſaid, that he did not intend to violate the Privilege of Parliament; but they muſt know, that, in Caſes of Treaſon, no Perſon hath a Privilege: therefore was come to know, if any of the Perſons accuſed were there; and told them, he would have them whereſoever he could find them. He further told them, he expected they would

1641. would ſend them to him as ſoon as they came to the Houſe.

The King was no ſooner gone, but many Members cried out aloud, ſo as he might hear them, *Privilege! Privilege!*

The Commons next Day voted, that the King had violated the Privileges of the Houſe; and that they could ſit no longer there, without a full Vindication of ſo high a Breach, and a Guard of the Safety of their Perſons.

The Houſe adjourned for ſome Days, and appointed a Committee of 24 to ſit at *Guildhall*, to conſider of Things for the Good and Safety of the City and Kingdom, and how their Privileges might be ſecured; and alſo to conſider of the *Iriſh* Affairs; and ſent to acquaint the Lords therewith.

The ſame Day the King came to *Guildhall*, having ordered the Lord Mayor to call thither the Common-Council, and made a Speech; in which he ſaid, that he was come to demand the Perſons accuſed of High Treaſon, that they might be brought to a legal Trial, and deſired their Aſſiſtance therein.

Soon after the City of *London* preſented a Petition to the King; which plainly ſhewed, that they were more inclined to the Parliament than him. The King gave a mild Anſwer to it, juſtifying, as far as he could, the Steps he had taken with regard to the accuſed Members; the Petitioners having, contrary to his Expectation, repreſented his Pro-

Proceedings to be a Breach of the Privilege of Parliament. 1641.

Next Day the King publiſhed a Proclamation, commanding all Magiſtrates and Officers of Juſtice to apprehend the accuſed Members, and carry them to the Tower.

The Committee that ſat at *Guildhall* reſolved, that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* ſhould raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus* for their ſafe coming to Parliament the Day they were to meet again: Whereupon the Watermen offered their Service to guard the Committee by Water to *Weſtminſter*, which was accepted.

The Committee made a Report, that the Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members, was a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament; a ſeditious Act, tending to the Subverſion of the Peace of the Kingdom.

The King hearing that the Committee was to come to Parliament with a numerous Guard, thought fit to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*, and two Days after to *Windſor*.

Now it was that the King found he had taken wrong Meaſures, and wiſhed he could appeaſe the Diſorders himſelf had made. To this End, he ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, importing, that he would wave his former Proceedings againſt the Accuſed, and would proceed thereupon in an unqueſtionable Way; and aſſures his Parliament, that, upon all Occaſions, he will be as careful of

1641. of their Privileges, as of his Life, or his Crown.

Had there not been a ſettled Deſign againſt the King, this Meſſage would have been capable to pacify all; ſince he plainly ſhewed, that he repented of what he had done: But he had given too great a Handle for his Enemies to neglect to make the moſt of this Advantage.

The Party which was moſt againſt the King being grown much the ſtrongeſt in both Houſes, the Queſtion was not to know, whether it was neceſſary to diminiſh the Regal Power? but to know within what Bounds it ſhould be confined? They who had hitherto been moſt moderate, having entirely loſt the Doubt they were under touching the King's Sincerity.

The Report made by the Committee at *London* was reduced by the Houſe into the Form of a Declaration: But, before it was publiſhed, the King ſent another Meſſage to both Houſes; in which he ſaid, he had no Intention to violate the Privileges of Parliament; and in caſe any Doubt ſhould remain, he will be willing to clear that by any reaſonable Way that his Parliament ſhall adviſe him to; and deſired them to apply themſelves to the publick and preſſing Affairs, and eſpecially to thoſe of *Ireland*: But this Meſſage was not capable of ſatisfying the Commons.

Next Day the Commons cauſed Sir *Edward Herbert*, the Attorney-General, to be exa-

examined at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords. 1641.
His Anſwers being ſent to the Commons, they ordered him to be accuſed of ſeveral high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, by violating the Privileges of Parliament, in exhibiting the Articles of Accuſation; which he received from the King's own Hand, with an expreſs Command to exhibit them.

Both Houſes petitioned his Majeſty, that they might be informed what Proof there was againſt the ſix Members, to the end they might be ſpeedily proceeded againſt. The King anſwered, that he thought it unfit to diſcover the Proof, before he was certain of the Way he was to proceed.

The Commons petitioned a ſecond Time to the ſame Purpoſe: And the King plainly perceiving there would be no End, and that new Difficulties would be ſtarted, endeavoured to put a Determination by another Meſſage; in which he ſaid, that he would deſert all Proſecution of them, and would grant a free and general Pardon for the full Contentment of all his loving Subjects, in ſuch a Manner as both Houſes ſhould think fit.

The Parliament thinking this general Pardon was offered, that it might be ſaid that the ſix Members were exempted from the Rigour of the Law, purely by virtue of the Pardon, petitioned again, that the Perſons that made Information againſt the Members, might find Sureties to proſecute as the Law directed; and if they could not make good their Suggeſtions, to be impriſoned till they had

1641. had satisfied the Parties accused of their Damages, and made Fine and Ransom to the King, as it is directed in two Acts made in the 37th and 38th Years of the Reign of *Edward* III. The King returning no Answer to this Petition, the Business rested here; but the King was often upbraided with this Affair afterwards.

The Commons made a great Noise of the Breach of their Privileges; but their greatest Grievance was, that the King had picked out, to accuse of High Treason, five of the House, who were the chief Leaders; so that to accuse these, was to accuse the whole House. This made them suspect, that the King had some grand Design in hand, and was willing to secure those who were the most capable to cross it. This was the Impression which this unseasonable Accusation immediately made on the Minds of the Parliament. This was enough to incense against him those who had hitherto considered, as a doubtful Point, whether his Promises were to be relied upon? It was not the Breach of Privilege, but the King's Intention, that was the main Point in question: For it is certain, that the Privileges of Parliament do not reach to Crimes of High Treason; tho' it is an undoubted Maxim, that no Member can be proceeded against, without the Consent of the House.

The Parliament received Information, that the Lord *Digby*, Col. *Lunsford*, and other disbanded Officers, were at *Kingston upon Thames*,

Thames, with about 200 Horſe. Whereupon 1641.
it was ordered by both Houſes, that the Sheriffs ſhould call to their Aſſiſtance the Train'd Bands of the ſeveral Counties, and ſuppreſs all unlawful Aſſemblies. The Lords ſent to the Lord *Digby* to come and give his Attendance in the Houſe; but he withdrew out of the Kingdom.

Both Houſes being jealous, that the King had an Intention to ſecure *Portſmouth*, ſent an Order to Col. *Goring*, Governor there, requiring him not to deliver up the Town, nor receive any Forces into it, but by his Majeſty's Authority, ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament. They alſo ordered, that ſome of the Train'd Bands of *Yorkſhire* ſhould be put into *Hull*, under the Command of Sir *John Hotham*, a Member of the Houſe, with the ſame Orders as given to the Governor of *Portſmouth*.

Scarce a Day paſſed but the Parliament expreſſed their Suſpicions againſt the King; and as they did not think themſelves ſafe at *Weſtminſter*, a Bill was paſſed to enable them to adjourn to any Place they pleaſed.

The Commons ordered the Earl of *Newport*, Lieutenant of the Tower, not to ſuffer any Cannon or Ammunition to be carried from thence; and ordered the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* to ſet a ſufficient Guard, both by Land and Water, to hinder any thing from being convey'd out. The ſame Day the Commons cauſed ſome great

1641. Saddles to be ſeized, that were to be ſent to *Kingſton*.

During theſe Differences between King and Parliament, *Ireland* remained unaſſiſted. At laſt the *Scots* Commiſſioners, who had attended, finding the Treaty about ſending *Scots* Forces to *Ireland* retarded, offered their Mediation to the King and both Houſes, to procure an Accommodation: But the King was offended at their Offer, becauſe they had not firſt conſulted him in private; but the two Houſes thanked them for this Mark of their Affection.

The Commons prevailed with the *Scots* Commiſſioners to ſend 2500 Men, that were then ready, into *Ireland*, till the Treaty for 10,000 could be ended; and the King agreed to it. They were ſent into the North of *Ireland*, where they did good Service.

The City of *London* being aſked to lend 100,000 *l.* for levying of Forces to ſuppreſs the Rebels of *Ireland*, gave their Reaſons why the Money could not be raiſed. And Mr *Pym*, at a Conference with the Lords, made a Speech, and preſented Petitions from *London*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, and ſeveral other Places; wherein the Petitioners pray'd, that the Papiſts might be diſarmed, the Kingdom put into a Poſture of Defence, the Forts and ſtrong Places committed to ſuch Hands as the Parliament might confide in, the Privileges of Parliament repaired, Endeavours uſed to take away the Votes of Popiſh Lords and

and Biſhops, *Ireland* ſpeedily relieved, Delinquents brought to further Puniſhments, Preſſures and Grievances in Church and State removed, and whatever ſhould be amiſs reformed. The Speech tended to the ſame End; and manifeſtly diſcovered the Commons' Reſolution to ſtrip the King of great Part of his Prerogatives, which they term'd *ſaving the Kingdom*. 1641.

But had not the People been ever oppreſſed, it would have been in vain to endeavour to perſuade them (as Mr *Pym* did in his Speech) they had actually been ſo. Had not the King attempted to eſtabliſh an arbitrary Power; had not his Miniſters, his Counſellors, all Perſons in Publick Offices, helped to execute this Deſign, How would it have been poſſible to convince the People of the Reality of the ſame? And the Preſbyterians knew how to make the moſt, in order to compaſs their private Ends, by aggravating Facts, and ſtraining Conſequences, and even groundleſs Inſinuations.

The King was diſguſted very much at Mr *Pym*'s Speech; and inſiſted, that the Houſe ſhould make a ſolemn Reparation, and diſavow what *Pym* had aſſerted: but they inſiſted, that what Mr *Pym* had ſaid, was agreeable to the Senſe of the Houſe; and they would ſtand by what he had ſaid.

This Diſpute was of little Moment, in Compariſon of another which was ſtarted at the ſame Time, and which was attended with

1641. with ſad Conſequences; I mean that about the Militia, and Command of the Forts.

The King ſeeing a Rupture approaching, had, once more, formed the Deſign of ſecuring *Hull*, where there was a large Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, and alſo *Portſmouth*. To that Purpoſe Col. *Goring*, Governor of *Portſmouth*, whom the King had ſecretly gained, was to receive the Queen into *Portſmouth*; which done, he had Orders to go and take the Command of *Hull*. This Deſign was diſcovered, tho' it was only communicated to three Perſons; and the King thought not proper to purſue it.

The Commons, after this, petitioned his Majeſty, humbly beſeeching him to raiſe to them a ſure Ground of Safety and Confidence, by putting the Tower, and other principal Forts of the Kingdom, and the whole Militia thereof, into the Hands of ſuch Perſons as the Parliament might confide in, and as ſhould be recommended to his Majeſty by both Houſes of Parliament.

The King anſwered, that as for the Forces and Caſtles of the Kingdom, he was reſolved they ſhould always be in ſuch Hands (and only ſuch) as the Parliament might ſafely confide in; but the Nomination of any Perſons to thoſe Places, (being ſo principal and inſeparable a Flower of his Crown, veſted in him, and derived unto him from his Anceſtors by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom)

dom) he would reserve to himself; and if 1641.
he should, at any Time, confer such a Trust upon an undeserving Person, he would always be ready to leave him to the Wisdom and Justice of his Parliament.

As for the Militia of the Kingdom, which, by Law, is subject to no Command, but of his Majesty, and of Authority lawfully derived from him, when any particular Course for the ordering the same should be considered and digested by his Parliament, and proposed to him, he would return such an Answer, as should be agreeable to his Honour, and the Safety of his People; being resolved only to deny such Things, the granting whereof would alter the fundamental Laws.

So general an Answer was not capable of satisfying the Commons. A few Days after both Houses presented a Petition to the King, that he would be pleased forthwith to put the Tower of *London*, and all other Forts, and the whole Militia of the Kingdom, into the Hands of such Persons as should be recommended to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament.

He answered, that the Forts and Militia in the several Counties should be put into the Hands of such Persons as both the Houses of Parliament should either approve or recommend to him, for the securing of them from all Dangers or Jealousies; provided they should declare before-hand unto his Majesty, the Names of the Persons whom

they

1641. they ſhould approve or recommend; unleſs ſuch Perſons ſhall be named, againſt whom he ſhall have juſt and unqueſtionable Exception.

A few Days after the King gave the Lieutenancy of the Tower to Sir *John Conyers*, a Perſon the Commons approved of, the better to perſuade both Houſes, that he intended to ſatisfy them.

The Parliament doubted not but that the King was reſolved to put the Militia into the Hands of ſuch as himſelf ſhould judge proper: Therefore, they ordered the Draught of an Ordinance, for the regulating the Militia, to be prepared, with the Names of the Commanders in each County; and preſented it to his Majeſty, with a Petition to deſire his Conſent.

The Queen was going to *Holland*, under colour of conducting thither the Princeſs *Mary*, her Daughter, who had eſpouſed the Prince of *Orange*; and the King went to accompany her to *Dover*: ſo anſwered, that he had not Time to conſider of a Matter of ſo great Weight, but would ſend an Anſwer at his Return.

The Parliament, thinking they had Reaſon to ſuſpect the King only ſought to amuſe them, preſented another Petition to the ſame Purpoſe: And, to let the King ſee it would be in vain to oppoſe it, they ordered it ſo, that, in ſome Places, the People had, of their own Accord, divided themſelves into Companies, choſen Officers, and, in a word,

had begun to regulate the Militia, without ſtaying for the King's Orders. 1641.

The King ſeeing himſelf thus preſſed, ſought other Evaſions to amuſe the Parliament; and gave an Anſwer to the laſt Petition, wherein he agrees to the Perſons recommended to be Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties: But as to the City of *London*, and ſuch Corporations as by ancient Charters have granted unto them the Power of the Militia, his Majeſty doth not conceive that it can ſtand with Juſtice to alter their Government. And his Majeſty requireth, that if it ſhall appear to his Parliament, that any Perſons have preſumed to command the Militia, without lawful Authority, that they may be proceeded againſt according to Law.

The Exception of *London*, and other Corporations, who, by Charters, had the Power of the Militia, did not pleaſe the Commons, ſince there were very few Towns of Note but what had the like Charters; beſides, it did not appear, that either *London*, or any other Corporation, deſired to be maintained in their Privileges in this reſpect.

Both Houſes having taken his Anſwer into Conſideration, voted, that it was not ſatisfactory; and preſented a third Petition to him at *Theobalds*, where he then was: wherein they proteſt, that if his Majeſty ſhall perſiſt in a Denial, they will be forced, for the Safety of his Majeſty and the Kingdom, to diſpoſe of the Militia, by the Au-

1641. Authority of both Houſes, in ſuch manner as hath been propounded to his Majeſty; and reſolved to do it accordingly.

They alſo petition, that, to remove all Jealouſies and Fears, his Majeſty and the Prince would not withdraw to remote Parts of the Kingdom, but reſide at or near *London*; (they being informed, that his Majeſty was for taking a Journey to *York*, and then to *Hull*, to ſecure that Place.) They alſo ſet forth, that the Militia cannot be granted to any Corporation, by Charter, without the Conſent and Authority of Parliament; and that thoſe Parts of the Kingdom which have put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence againſt the common Danger, have done nothing therein but by the Direction of both Houſes, and what is juſtifiable by the Laws.

The King and the Parliament had but too much Cauſe to miſtruſt one another: They had each their ſecret Intentions, which were not yet fully laid open.

The King gave an Anſwer to this Petition; in which he ſaid, he was much amazed, and knew not what to anſwer. He ſaid, they ſpoke of Jealouſies and Fears. He bid them lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and conſider whether he had not great Cauſe to be diſturbed with Jealouſies and Fears from ſuch like Meſſages. As for the Militia, he reſolves not to recede from his laſt Anſwer. As for his Reſidence at or near *London*, he wiſhes it might be ſo ſafe and honourable, that he might not have Cauſe to abſent himſelf.

felf. As for his Son, he would take fuch 1641.
Care of him as fhould juftify him to God as a Father, and to his Dominions as a King. He affured them, upon his Honour, that he had no Thoughts but of Peace and Juftice to his People; and relies upon the Providence of God for the Prefervation of himfelf and Rights.

Upon this Anfwer it was refolved by the Houfe of Commons,

That thofe that advifed his Majefty to give this Anfwer, are Enemies to the State; and that the Lords be moved to join with this Houfe in fome fit Courfe of Examination, to find who the Perfons are that gave this Advice; and that they be removed from his Majefty, and brought to condign Punifhment.

That this Anfwer is of fo dangerous Confequence, that if his Majefty perfifts in it, it will hazard the Peace and Safety of all his Kingdoms.

That if his Majefty fhall remove into any remote Parts from his Parliament, it will be a great Hazard to the Kingdom, and a great Prejudice to the Proceedings of Parliament.

That no Charter can be granted by the King, to create a Power in any Corporation over the Militia of that Place, without Confent of Parliament.

That the Lords be moved to join with this Houfe in thefe Votes.

The fame Day it was refolved in the Houfe of

1641. of Commons, that the Kingdom be forthwith put into a Posture of Defence, by Authority of both Houses.

In pursuance of this Resolution, both Houses published an Ordinance for settling the Militia; and ordained Lieutenants for every County, with Power to call together his Majesty's Subjects and Train'd Bands, and exercise them in the Art of War; and such Persons as shall not obey, shall answer their Neglect and Contempt to the Lords and Commons in a parliamentary Way, and not otherwise.

The King being at *Newmarket*, both Houses presented a Declaration to him, which served for a Reply to his Answer; in which they declared the Causes of their Fears and Jealousies, and desiring he would remove from his Person all evil Counsellors, and join with his Parliament in Defence of the Religion and Publick Good of the Kingdom; and that he and the Prince would return and reside at or near *London*.

To this the King gave an Answer in his own Justification; but these Declarations, Messages, Answers, and Replies, which have passed, were only for the People, it being the Interest of each to gain them to his Side.

The King being at *Huntingdon*, sent a Message to both Houses to inform them, that he intended to reside at *York* for some Time. He recommended to them withall the Business of *Ireland*.

As

As to the Militia, he told them, that he hoped that they would be as tender of his Privileges as he had been of theirs, in retracting any Act of his own which he had been informed had intrenched upon their Privileges; among which he was assured it was a fundamental one: That his Subjects cannot be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction, to which his Majesty hath not given his Consent: That, therefore, he expected and required Obedience from all his Subjects to the Laws established. 1642.

Next Day the Commons voted, that the House should insist upon their former Votes concerning the Militia: That the King's Absence might be a Destruction to the Affairs of *Ireland*; and that the Parliament, as supream Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, shall declare what the Law of the Land is: That the several Commissions granted under the Great Seal, to the Lieutenants of the several Counties, are illegal and void: That the Kingdom is in so imminent Danger, both by Enemies Abroad, and a Popish Party at Home, that there is an urgent Necessity of putting his Majesty's Subjects into a Posture of Defence, for the Safe-guard both of his Majesty and his People. This is the Substance of the Votes of both Houses.

There were frequent Papers passed between the King and the Parliament; in which the King supposed the Government to be in its usual and natural State; and the Par-

1642. Parliament ſuppoſed an imminent Danger, which obliged them to act in an unuſual Manner. This Miſunderſtanding had fatal Conſequences. The Parliament was reſolved to diveſt the King of the Command of the Militia; and the King was as fully determined not to give up that Point.

The Houſes ſent a Meſſage to the King to inform him, that the Lord-Admiral's Indiſpoſition diſabling him from commanding the Fleet in his own Perſon, they had recommended to his Lordſhip the Earl of *Warwick*, to ſupply his Place: But underſtanding ſince, that his Majeſty had appointed, for that Employment, Sir *John Pennington*, they beſought his Majeſty not to prefer this laſt to the Earl of *Warwick*.

The King was very angry at this Meſſage, which was by way of Petition; and ſent the Lord-Keeper word, that he would not alter the Perſon whom he had appointed: But he was not Maſter; for it was ſo managed, that the Earl of *Warwick* was acknowledged Commander of the Fleet, againſt the King's Will.

The King came to the Gates of *Hull* with ſome Troops; but Sir *John Hotham*, the Governor, denied him Admittance. This Proceeding helped not to remove the Parliament's Fears and Suſpicions; and the rather, that having paſſed a Bill for ſettling the Militia, as the King had deſired, this Bill had been rejected. Soon after the King ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, containing

ing the Reaſons for not conſenting to the 1642.
Militia Bill; it giving too abſolute and too unlimited a Power, exceeding what he had agreed to, and unfit to be committed to any private Perſon; and even excluding the King from any Power or Authority in the Execution of this Militia.

Soon after, both Houſes made a Declaration, that they would put the Ordinance for ſettling the Militia in preſent Execution; and required all Perſons in Authority, by virtue of the ſaid Ordinance, forthwith to put the ſame in execution; and all others to obey it, as they tender the upholding of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and his Royal Poſterity, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Being of the Commonwealth.

The King ſent an Anſwer to this Declaration; wherein he ſets forth, that the pretended Ordinance is againſt the fundamental Laws of the Land, againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and the Right of Parliaments, and a high Crime in any that ſhall henceforth execute the ſame: And he charges and commands all his loving Subjects, upon their Allegiance, as they tender the Peace of the Kingdom, from henceforth not to muſter, levy, ſummon, or warn any of the Train'd Bands to riſe, muſter, or march, by virtue or under colour of the pretended Ordinance.

The King iſſued a Proclamation to forbid the putting the Ordinance of the Parliament in execution, on pain to the Offenders of be-

1642. being declared Disturbers of the Publick Peace.

The Parliament, on their Part, published a Declaration, forbidding all Persons to obey the King's Proclamation, as being contrary to the Laws.

Having touched altogether upon the Affair of the Militia, that I might not be obliged to break the Thread of the Narration, I shall now go back to what passed in some other Affairs no less material.

The King having passed two Acts, so earnestly desired by the Commons, the one for the Exclusion of the Bishops, the other for pressing of Soldiers, sent a Message to both Houses, containing,

That he will, by Proclamation, require the Laws to be strictly put in execution against Recusants.

That the seven condemned Priests shall be immediately banished, if the Parliament consents to it.

That a Proclamation shall issue to require all Romish Priests to depart the Kingdom in 20 Days.

That his Majesty will concur in any Resolution his Parliament shall think fit, to promote the Trade of the Kingdom.

That he will go in Person to reduce the *Irish* to Obedience, if the Parliament shall think fit.

Some Letters of the Lord *Digby* were intercepted, and opened by the Parliament; wherein he advised the King to betake him-

ſelf to a ſafe Place; and deſired the Queen 1642.
to ſend him a Cypher, that he might hold
a Correſpondence with her. There were alſo
ſome ſharp Expreſſions againſt the Parliament. Some Days after it was reſolved by
the Commons, that the Lord *Digby* ſhould
be accuſed of High Treaſon.

About the ſame Time Propoſals were made to the Parliament for the ſpeedy raiſing of Money for the Reduction of *Ireland*. The Perſons that ſhould raiſe Money, were to have the Rebels' Lands that ſhould be confiſcated, every one in proportion to what he advanced. An Act paſſed accordingly; to which the King gave the Royal Aſſent.

The King being at *Stamford*, in his Way to *York*, iſſued a Proclamation for ſtrictly putting in execution the Laws againſt Papiſts; but it ſerved only to ſhew, that hitherto theſe Laws had been ill executed.

The King ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, to acquaint them, that he had firmly reſolved to go into *Ireland*, and head the *Engliſh* Troops: That therefore he intended to raiſe, in the Counties near *Weſt-Cheſter*, a Guard for his own Perſon, conſiſting of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, to be armed from his Magazine of *Hull*.

The Parliament thinking this was an Artifice to make himſelf Maſter of *Hull*, petitioned the King againſt this Reſolution, and gave their Reaſons; and alſo, that if he ſhould raiſe theſe Troops, without Conſent of the Parliament, they ſhould be forced
to

1642. to interpret the ſame to be raiſed to the Terror of the People, and Diſturbance of the Publick Peace; and hold themſelves bound, by the Laws of the Kingdom, to apply the Authority of Parliament to ſuppreſs the ſame.

The King returned a long Anſwer to this Petition, and confuted all the Parliament's Reaſons: However, the Affair reſted here; only the King made this Advantage of it, that he could ſay that he offered to go in Perſon, and endeavour the Reduction of *Ireland*; but his Offer was rejected: yet it is ſaid, that only ſix Days before, the King had reſolved to ſecure *Hull*.

The King's Condition growing much worſe, it was no hard Matter to perceive, as his Enemies went to work, there was no Middle-way for him, between becoming a Slave, or rendering himſelf Maſter. He was unwilling to be a Slave; and it was no eaſy Taſk to become Maſter, as his Affairs then ſtood, eſpecially having to do with very able and watchful Enemies. Believing, very probably, he ſhould never be able to extricate himſelf out of the Danger he was in but by a War, he reſolved to ſend the Queen to *Holland*, to buy up Arms and Ammunition with the Crown Jewels, (which he put into her Hand) to retire to *York* himſelf, and to try to ſecure *Hull*, tho' he coloured his Deſigns with other Pretences.

The King himſelf had cauſed the Arms to be brought to *Hull*, when he had determined

mined to go to War with *Scotland.* This Magazine was fit to furnish 16,000 Men; and both Houses petitioned the King to have the Magazine removed to the Tower of *London:* But the King depended upon it to arm his Friends in due Time. It was on this Account, 'tis believed, that he refused to remove the Arms to the Tower, tho' he alledged other Reasons. The Parliament, on their Part, pleaded for the Removal, with Arguments that were not the true ones. At last, finding the King would not consent to it, both Houses ordered the best Part of the Magazine to be brought to the Tower, without asking again the King's Approbation. 1642.

The King and Parliament did each their utmost to make the People believe, that in all their Proceedings they had no other Motive, than the Good and Advantage of the Kingdom. From these Protestations it is, that the Historians take their strongest Arguments, to demonstrate the Innocence and Sincerity of the Party whose Cause they espouse.

The King's Design of seizing *Hull* was demonstrated by the following Particulars: While the Business of the Militia was debating with great Heat on both Sides, the King had sent to *Hull* the Duke of *York*, his second Son, with the young Elector *Palatine*, his Nephew, under colour of seeing the Place; and very likely these two Princes had a pretty numerous Retinue. *Hotham*, the Governor, and the Mayor, received

1642. them with all the Respect due to their Rank. While they were there, Sir *Lewis Dives* came and told the Governor, that his Majesty intended to dine with him, being then within four Miles of the Town with a Train of 300 Horse. *Hotham*, startled at the Message, consulted with some of his Friends; and it was resolved amongst them, that a Messenger should be dispatched to his Majesty, humbly to beseech him to forbear to come, forasmuch as he could not, without betraying the Trust, set open the Gates to so great a Guard as he came attended withall. The Messenger returning with a doubtful Answer, and certifying of the King's Advance to Town, *Hotham* drew up the Bridges, shut the Gates, and commanded the Soldiers to stand to their Arms round the Walls. The King being come to *Beverley* Gate, called for the Governor; who appearing on the Walls, he commanded him to open the Gates. The Governor answered, he was entrusted by the Parliament for the securing of the Town, for his Majesty's Honour, and the Kingdom's Use, which he intended, by God's Help, to do; proffering, however, that if his Majesty would come in with 12 more, he should be welcome; otherwise he could not, without betraying his Trust, admit Entrance. This is *Rushworth*'s Account; but the Lord *Clarendon* and *Whitlock* say nothing of this Offer of *Hotham*'s; but only, that he should say, he would not admit him, tho' with 20 Horse only. However

ever this be, the King was not admitted Entrance; upon which the King proclaimed *Hotham* a Traitor, by two Heralds, and retired to *Beverley*. 1642.

The next Morning the King ſent a Herald to *Hotham*, to ſummon him, once more, to open the Gates, with Promiſe of Pardon for what was paſt; but he could not prevail, and was forced to return to *York*; and the Duke of *York*, and the Prince Elector, went along with him.

There were no fewer Papers, Meſſages, Anſwers, Replies, betwixt the King and Parliament about this Affair, than about the Buſineſs of the Militia.

The King, vexed at this Diſappointment, would have Sir *John Hotham*'s Action, in this Affair, conſidered as a manifeſt Treaſon, and demanded a manifeſt Reparation of the Parliament. He cited the Laws and Statutes, which placed in the King the Care of defending the Realm, and the Command of the Forts and Magazines; but he always ſuppoſed the Kingdom to be in a State of Tranquility, as it was deemed to be when theſe Laws were made; but this prevailed not with the Parliament.

The King had privately gained Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portſmouth*. The Queen was actually buſy in *Holland*, in providing Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, and getting ſeveral Officers of the *Engliſh* Troops, then in the *Dutch* Service. The greateſt Part of the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen

were

1642. were for the King. With this Aſſiſtance he hoped to prevent the Parliament's Meaſures, and have on foot a ſufficient Number of Forces to take *Hull*, before they could be in a Readineſs to oppoſe it. He further expected, that when he ſhould be Maſter of *Hull* and *Portſmouth*, and had received Arms from *Holland*, Abundance of People, who were ſtill kept back by fear of wanting Protection, would openly take his Part. Beſides this, he gave private Notice to all his Friends, that it was Time to repair to *York*; and ordered Letters to be ſent, in his Name, to ſuch Members as adhered to him, to abſent themſelves from the Parliament, and retire to *York*, or to other Places where they might be of Service to him; and ſummoned all the County of *York*, who were Tenants in chief, to appear at *York* the 12th of *May*.

Shortly after, both Houſes ſent a Committee to *York*, under Pretence of bringing the King a Meſſage about *Hull* and the Militia; but, in reality, to be Spies upon his Actions.

The King returned an Anſwer to the Meſſage, and diſmiſſed the Committee; but they told him they had Orders to ſtay at *York*. Tho' it was eaſy for him to ſee with what View this Committee was ſent, he thought not proper to drive them away by Violence.

The 12th of *May* the Gentry of the County being come to *York*, the King made a Speech; wherein he proteſted, that the enjoying of Quiet was the chief

Cauſe

Cauſe of his coming among them: That 1642.
both Houſes of Parliament did, by their
Meſſages, brave him even in *York*; and that as his Magazine of *Hull* was going, directly againſt his Will, to be taken from him, and the Militia to be put in Execution againſt Law and his Conſent; and as Sir *John Hotham*'s Treaſon was countenanced, none could blame him for apprehending Danger: Therefore he was reſolved to have a Guard, in which he deſired their Concurrence and Aſſiſtance.

The *Yorkſhire* Gentry being variouſly diſpoſed, it was not poſſible for them that heard the King's Speech to agree in the ſame Anſwer. For this Reaſon the King received four different Anſwers, two whereof were ſatisfactory, and the other two beſought him to hearken to the Advice of his Parliament. The Guard, however, was raiſed, and the Command thereof given to the Prince of *Wales*.

The King would have removed the Courts of Juſtice from *Weſtminſter* to *York*; and even ſent a Proclamation to the Lord Keeper *Littleton* for that Purpoſe, with Orders to publiſh it; but the Parliament having Notice of it, forbid him to put the Orders in Execution.

As Matters ſtood between the King and the Parliament, a War ſeemed unavoidable; and, in all Likelihood, it was already determined on both Sides. The only thing now was, to dazzle the Publick with good or bad

Rea-

1642. Reasons, and to try to cast the Blame on the opposite Party: Wherefore the Parliament published a Manifesto, under the Name of a Remonstrance or Declaration, to vindicate their Conduct. It sets forth, amongst a great many other Things, that this Nation hath intrusted certain Hands with a Power to provide, in an orderly and regular Way, for the Good and Safety of the whole; which Power, by the Constitution of this Kingdom, is in his Majesty and his Parliament together: Yet since the Prince, being but one Person, is more subject to Accidents of Nature and Chance, whereby the Commonwealth may be deprived of the Fruits of that Trust, which was in part reposed in him; in Cases of such Necessity, that the Kingdom may not be forced presently to return to its first Principles, and every Man left to do what is right in his own Eyes, without either Guide or Rule, the Wisdom of this State hath entrusted the Houses of Parliament with a Power to supply what shall be wanting on the Part of the Prince, when the Kingdom runs an evident and imminent Danger thereby.

All the Reasons of both Houses are founded upon the Supposition of an imminent Danger. When they come to give Proofs of the Reality of this Danger, they alledge only Suspicions whereof they explain the Causes.

Those who sided with the King were called *Cavaliers*; and those who sided with the

the Parliament were called *Round-heads*. 1642.
These two Names were afterwards changed into those of *Tories* and *Whigs*.

It was not long before the King answered the Parliament's Manifesto. He had strong Reasons to prevent betimes the Impressions it might make upon the Minds of the People, since a War was inevitable.

The King, in his Answer, complains much of the Usage of the Parliament towards him: That they vote and dispose of the Militia of the Kingdom, without any lawful Authority: That they enter into the King's Towns, seize upon his Magazines, and, by Force, keep both from him. And this they affirm to be according to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, tho' the Expression only can produce such Laws.

That they undertake to declare what is Law, and even to vote new Laws, without the King's Assent, as if this was not essential. Whether this is a Breach of the *English* Constitution, let every Man judge. The Parliament, it may be said now, had their Turn of using arbitrary Methods, to balance the King's Conduct for the first 15 Years of his Reign.

The King concludes with desiring, that his Actions may no longer prosper, or have a Blessing from God, than they shall be directed to the Glory of God, in the Maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, to the Preservation of the Property and Liberty of the Subject in the Observation of the Laws,

1642. Laws, and to the Maintenance of the Rights and Freedom of Parliament, in the Allowance and Protection of their just Privileges.

The Presbyterian Party having gained Ground upon the Exclusion of the Bishops and Popish Lords, diligently applied themselves to cherish the Dissention between King and Parliament. There was in the Presbyterian Party another Party, who concealed themselves, and were afterwards known by the Name of *Independents*. This Party, as they could not accomplish their secret Designs, but amidst Disorder and Confusion, affected a rigid Presbyterianism, and strove to carry Things to Extremities, under colour of maintaining Presbyterianism; tho', in truth, their Intention was, to destroy it as well as the Church of *England*.

The King's Friends withdrawing from the House, the Presbyterian Party carried all before them; but they thought it yet too soon to discover their Design of altering the Church Government, till they had put it out of the King's Power to oppose it. Their grand Aim was, to induce the King to begin the Breach; and the King seems not to perceive Time enough the Snare that was laid for him.

As for the King, it is almost impossible to know perfectly his secret Intentions; because, after the opening of this Parliament, he gave his Assent to several advantageous Bills to the People, and thereby seemed to express a kind of Repentance for his past Con-

Conduct: But the Situation he was in when 1642.
he paſſed theſe Acts, made it ſomething
doubtful, whether he ſincerely conſented to the Redreſs of Grievances, or whether it was only to accommodate himſelf to the Times. He aſſured, that his Intention was to govern, for the future, according to Law; and called God to witneſs his Sincerity: But they would not rely on his Word.

Let the King's private Intention be what it would, he ſaw plainly, that nothing but Force could free him from the Danger he was in. His Propoſals for an Accommodation were rejected; and his Promiſes to keep the Laws for the future, conſidered as ſo many Snares: and, unfortunately for him, he had given but too much Cauſe for Diſtruſt.

A War being almoſt unavoidable, the Earl of *Briſtol*, tho' he had no great Reaſon to be pleaſed with the King, made his laſt Eſſay to procure an Accommodation, by a Speech in the Houſe of Peers. He repreſented, that the Thing was not impoſſible, if it were ſet about heartily: And, after enumerating the Inconveniences of a Civil War, moved the appointing a ſelect Committee of both Houſes, truly to ſtate all Differences between the King and Parliament, with the moſt probable Ways of reconciling them: but his Speech had no great Effect.

The ſame Day the Commons voted, that it appeared that the King, ſeduced by wicked Councils, intended to make War

1642. against the Parliament; who proposed nothing but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the Performance of all Duty and Loyalty to his Person.

That whenever the King made War upon the Parliament, it would be a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by the People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of the Government.

That whosoever should serve or assist him in such Wars, would be Traitors by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and ought to suffer as such.

The Lord Keeper, *Littleton*, delivered up the Great Seal to be carried to the King, and followed it himself the next Morning, before the Parliament had any Knowledge of it.

A War was resolved on on both Sides; but, however, each Side still used some Ceremony, in order to cast the Blame on the contrary Party: For, in a Civil War, it is the People that are wanted; because in them lies the Strength of the two Parties.

The Earl of *Bristol*, in his Speech to the Lords, had observed, that it was not impossible to state the Differences betwixt the King and Parliament; but the great Difficulty lay in finding such Security, as might stand with the King's Honour, and the Peoples' Satisfaction. He chiefly insisted, that as the King offered to give reasonable Security, his Offer ought not to be rejected, and the Issue of the War taken upon themselves. As this Offer, tho' made in very general Terms,

Terms, ſeemed plauſible, the Parliament was apprehenſive it might make ſome Impreſſion upon the People. For this Reaſon, they drew up 19 Propoſitions, which they looked upon as proper to eſtabliſh a good Peace and ſtrict Union between the King and Parliament. The Purport follows: 1642.

That the Lords, and others of the King's Privy-Council, and the Great Officers, and Miniſters of State, may be removed, except ſuch as ſhall be approved of by Parliament, and the new ones to have the like Approbation.

That no Marriage ſhall be concluded, or treated, for any of the King's Children, without Conſent of Parliament.

That the Laws againſt Recuſants be ſtrictly put in execution.

That the King will conſent to ſuch a Reformation to be made in the Church Government and Liturgy, as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe; and that all Innovations and Superſtitions be taken away. The whole tended to render the King's Prerogative of no Effect, and contained Propoſitions that they muſt have been confident the King would not embrace.

The King gave a long Anſwer to the Propoſitions; wherein he ſhewed, that their Propoſitions were unreaſonable, and even ſuch, that the Wiſdom and Modeſty of their Predeceſſors never thought fit to offer to any of his Progenitors; and ſuch as will not con-

1642. consist with the Honour of his Government to accept.

Tho' these Propositions were disguised with a Mixture of some Things already granted, and some Things very reasonable to ask, nor would be denied, that every Eye might not easily discern them in their proper Colours, their Policy tended so far as to strike at the Government, and to be admitted joint Patentees with the King in the Regality; which the King would not grant, tho' the rest of the Propositions received a gracious Answer.

It is easy to see, that neither the Parliament's Propositions, nor the King's Answer, were proper to beget an Accommodation; so it may be affirmed, that neither Side thought of any such Thing.

The Parliament having received Advice from *Holland*, that the Queen had pawned or sold some of the Crown Jewels at *Amsterdam*, published an Order, declaring, That whosoever was concerned in selling or pawning these Jewels, or in bringing any Money to the King, should be accounted an Enemy to the State. But the Queen had already laid out the Money in purchasing Arms and Ammunition, which she had conveyed to the King on board a small Vessel that safely arrived in *Burlington Bay*, after having been hotly chased by part of the Parliament's Fleet, commanded by the Earl of *Warwick*.

The Lords ordered nine of their Members,

bers, who had repaired to *York*, to appear at the Bar the 8th of *June* as Delinquents. 1642.

These Lords having ſent their Excuſe by a Letter, the Commons forthwith prepared an Impeachment againſt them, and ſent it up to the Lords. Shortly afterwards the Peers pronounced Sentence againſt the nine Lords, declaring they ſhould not ſit or vote in the Houſe during the preſent Parliament, and ſhould ſtand committed to the Tower during the Pleaſure of the Houſe.

Both Houſes gave a more evident Token of their Deſign: For, upon receiving Advice that the King was actually giving out Commiſſions to levy Forces, they publiſh'd Propoſals for the bringing in of Money or Plate, for the Defence of the Kingdom. This is what the King's Friends will have to be conſidered as the firſt Declaration of War on the Parliament's Side, and pretend to ſhew thereby, that they were the firſt Aggreſſors; tho' it is certain, both Parties had made Preparations for War before this.

The King having Notice of what the Parliament had done for the ſpeedy raiſing of Money, writ to the Lord Mayor of *London*, commanding him to publiſh the Letter; wherein he forbid the Citizens to lend any Money to both Houſes.

This made the Parliament publiſh a Declaration, the Aim whereof was, to make the People ſenſible that the Parliament was under an abſolute Neceſſity of preparing for their Defence.

The

1642. The King made to this Declaration a long Anſwer, full of Reproaches of the illegal Proceedings of both Houſes againſt him: He did not deny that he intended to have Juſtice in the Caſes of *Hull* and the Militia, or loſe his Life in requiring of it; and affirmed, that his ſo doing was no manner of Proof of his deſigning to make War againſt the Parliament, but only of his Intentions to defend himſelf againſt their Attacks.

The Parliament ſaid ſo much on their Part, as ſhewed that they endeavoured to caſt the Blame of the War on the oppoſite Party, and all Hopes of Peace were laid aſide by both Parties.

The King, before he came to an open Declaration, had a-mind to execute two Deſigns he had formed: The firſt was, to become Maſter of the Fleet; and the ſecond, to beſiege *Hull*.

As to the firſt, he commanded the Captains to bring away his Ships to *Burlington-Bay*, and yield no farther Obedience to the Earl of *Warwick*; to whom he ſent a Letter, to forbid him to meddle any more in the Command of the Fleet.

The Earl of *Warwick* upon this ſummoned all the Captains to attend him in a Council of War. All obeyed, notwithſtanding the King's Orders, except five; who joined together to make their Defence in caſe of an Attack.

The Earl cauſed the Fleet to come to an Anchor, in order to compel thoſe five to ſub-

submit. Three of them came in upon a Summons. The two that held out suffered themselves to be shamefully taken by unarm'd Boats, and were sent to *London*. Thus the King was disappointed of his Aim. 1642.

The King, seeing it was to no Purpose to dissemble any longer, and that he must at last begin the War, ordered the Duke of *Newcastle* to secure the Town of *Newcastle*; which was done, tho' with much Difficulty; and then he caused *Tinmouth* Castle to be seized. At the same Time he sent many Lords and Gentlemen into their respective Shires, to levy Forces; and appointed the Earl of *Hertford* his Lieutenant-General of the Western Counties. He kept near his Person the Earl of *Lindsey*, to be, under him, General of his Army; Sir *Jacob Ashley* was General of the Foot; and the Place of General of the Horse was preserved for Prince *Rupert*, the King's Nephew, and Brother to the Elector *Palatine*, who was daily expected.

The King, with 3000 Foot and 800 Horse, resolved to begin the Siege of *Hull*. After having been some Time before the Town, he was obliged to raise the Siege and return to *York*.

Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, who feigned to keep the Place for the Parliament, openly declared for the King. The Parliament upon this assembled the Militia of the neighbouring Counties, in order to block up *Portsmouth* by Land, whilst the

Earl

1642. Earl of *Warwick* was commanded to do the same by Sea. Luckily for the Parliament, *Goring*, tho' he had received from them 3000 *l.* and the like Sum from the King, had neglected to lay in necessary Provisions for a Siege, particularly Corn and Salt; so that in the Beginning of the Blockade he was obliged to capitulate. He surrendered the Place to the Parliament only for Leave to retire into *Holland*, and for his Officers to retire to the King.

The King published a Proclamation, declaring both Houses of Parliament guilty of High Treason, and forbid all his Subjects to yield any Obedience to them; and required all Men, who could bear Arms, to repair to him at *Nottingham*, where he intended to set up his Royal Standard. The setting up of the Royal Standard was the ancient Manner of making known to the People the pressing Occasion the King had of their Assistance, and the Place they were to repair to in order to aid him.

The King went and took *Lincoln*, from whence he drew the Arms of the Train'd Bands for his Troops: after which he came to *Nottingham*.

After this the King was informed, that two Regiments of Foot were marching towards *Coventry*, by the Earl of *Essex*'s Orders; whereupon he hasted thither with his Cavalry: but the Mayor of the City, tho' without a Garrison, shut the Gates against him,

him, and fired upon his Men; so he was forced to return to *Nottingham*. 1642.

The King caused his Standard to be erected on a Turret of *Nottingham* Castle. This produced so little Effect, that hardly any Body was come to attend the Royal Standard; and it grew so stormy and tempestuous, that it was blown down, and could not be fixed again, under a Day or two. This was looked upon by many as a fatal Presage of the War.

The People came not in to offer their Service so heartily as the King expected; nevertheless he had given out Abundance of Commissions, and ordered his Forces to repair to *Nottingham*; tho' they could not be there without Danger, the Parliament having at *Coventry* a Body of 5000 Foot, and 1500 Horse.

The King, it is certain, was in extreme Danger at *Nottingham*: That Town was not in a Condition to hold out long; and if the Parliament's Forces had marched to *Nottingham*, he must either have been taken Prisoner, or retired to *York*.

The King being under great Straits, it was proposed by his Council to make Proposals for a Peace to the Parliament, which would retard the Preparations of the Parliament; because Mens Minds would be in Suspence, whilst the King's Levies might be continued by virtue of the Commissions already sent out: To which the King agreed, and a Message was sent, intimating, that a

1642. certain Number on each Side ſhould be appointed to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom; and he aſſures them, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his Part which might advance the Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery, ſecure the Laws of the Land, and confirm all juſt Power and Privileges of Parliament: That if this be rejected, God would abſolve him from the Guilt of that Blood that muſt be ſpilt.

The Parliament made an Anſwer, That they could do nothing herein till the Standard was taken down, and the Proclamations that declared them Traitors, called in.

The King ſent another Meſſage, wherein he proffered to recall his Proclamations, and take down his Standard the very ſame Day that the Parliament ſhould recall their Proclamations; but the Parliament refus'd till the King ſhould firſt perform, and return to his Parliament.

Both Houſes perceiving that the King's Aim was to keep them in Suſpence, publiſhed a Declaration, proteſting, that they would not lay down their Arms till his Majeſty had left the Delinquents to the Juſtice of the Parliament.

The King ſent a third Meſſage, to which they anſwered, and he replied; all much to the ſame Effect as above.

During theſe Paper Skirmiſhes, both Sides prepared for War. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who headed the Parliament's Army, order'd his Forces to aſſemble at *Northampton*, and ha-

having reviewed them, found 16,000 Men well armed. 1642.

The King perceiving he could not be safe at *Nottingham*, marched towards the Borders of *Wales*: But his Troops were so few, that they did not deserve the Name of an Army. However, he made a Speech to his Soldiers, and the better to satisfy them of his good Intentions towards the Publick, he made a Protestation, that he would defend the true Protestant Religion, the Privileges of Parliament, and govern according to the known Laws of the Land, if it should please God to preserve him from the present Rebellion. It was also made publick to the People every where he came, to gain them on his Side.

The King marched to *Shrewsbury*, having heard the agreeable News that the Town had declared for him. Here he resolved to fix his Head Quarters, and appoint the Rendezvous of his Army. This was a convenient Place to expect his Troops, which were levying in *Wales*, *Yorkshire*, and *Lancashire*. He sent for his Ordnance hither, which had not been able to follow him for want of Horses.

The Parliament had sent an Hundred Draught Horses to *Chester*, to be transported into *Ireland*. The King wanted to have the Earl of *Leicester*'s Consent, who was appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for to have these Horses; but he refused: However, the King gained one *Errington*, a Servant

1642. vant of the Earl's; who went and took the Horſes in his Maſter's Name, and carried them to the King. The King took alſo the Arms of the Militia in every Place thro' which he went.

The King having got to *Shrewſbury*, his Army was increaſed to 10,000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe.

It is ſomething ſtrange that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould neither moleſt the King whilſt at *Nottingham*, nor give him any Diſturbance in his March to *Shrewſbury*; but, 'tis ſaid, he had not yet received Inſtructions to act directly againſt the King's Perſon.

The King made an Advantage of this Neglect; his Friends at *London* ſent privately conſiderable Sums to *Oxford* for his Uſe: Beſides, the Univerſity, which had all along ſtood firmly attached to the King, deliver'd up to him all the Plate belonging to the Colleges.

The Point was now, how to convey this Aid ſafely to the King: To that End, he ſent Sir *John Byron* with a ſmall Detachment of Horſe, and ſent Prince *Rupert* with a Body of Horſe, to meet and guard him to *Shrewſbury*.

Byron had got as far as *Worceſter* with his Convoy, where Prince *Rupert* arrived to his Aid. The Earl of *Eſſex* had ſent a Body, commanded by Col. *Sandys*, to take Poſſeſſion of *Worceſter*; who marching up a narrow Lane, Prince *Rupert* charged them juſt as they came out of it; and the

the Charge was so vigorous, that the Enemy was entirely routed, and *Sandys* slain, with about 30 of his Men. This Action inspired the Parliament's Troops with great Terror, chiefly by reason of the Courage and Activity of Prince *Rupert*, who was one of the bravest Princes in *Europe*. 1642.

Prince *Rupert* having so great a Charge with him, did not think fit to wait on the Enemy at *Worcester*, but marched to *Shrewsbury* with the Money and Plate; which the King ordered directly to be coined.

The next Day the Earl of *Essex* possessed himself of *Worcester*, and also secured *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, and *Bristol*.

The King finding himself at the Head of an Army little inferior in Number to the Earl of *Essex*'s; and as the Enemy was taking, without Resistance, the principal Towns in the Heart of the Kingdom, he resolved to march and appear before *London*.

It was two Days before the Earl of *Essex* had Notice of this March, and began to follow him. The 22d of *October* the two Armies were within six Miles of one another. The King having Intelligence, that the Earl of *Essex* was so nigh, encamped near a Village called *Edgcot*.

As the King found he could not proceed to *London*, with the Enemy so close at his Heels, he resolved to turn back and give them Battle: To this End he drew up his Army on *Edge-hill*. The Earl of *Essex*, not imagining a Battle so near, had left behind

2000

1642. 2000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, with his Artillery.

Prince *Rupert*, who commanded the King's Right Wing of Horſe, marching down the Hill, and advancing to charge the Enemy's Left Wing, on a ſudden Sir *Faithful Forteſcue*, who commanded a Troop of the Parliament's Horſe, moving forward with his whole Troop from the groſs of their Cavalry, were entirely routed, and purſued above two Miles from the Field of Battle. The Parliament's Right Wing run away alſo, and were purſued with the ſame Fury.

This unadviſed Purſuit was of dangerous Conſequence to the King: For all this while the Foot of both Armies were engaged, without Victory's inclining to either Side. At laſt Sir *William Balfour*, to whom *Eſſex* had given the Command of the Reſerve, turned the Scale, and charged the Enemy's Foot in the Flank, and put them into ſuch Diſorder, that the King and his Sons were in Danger of being made Priſoners. The Earl of *Lindſey*, the King's General, was taken, having been ſhot in the Thigh, of which Wound he died. The Standard, which was always near the King's Perſon, was loſt by the Death of the Standard-bearer; but reſcued again by Capt. *John Smith*, being returned from the Run-aways; for which he was knighted, and made Standard-bearer.

The Return of Prince *Rupert* with his Horſe, prevented the King from being entirely defeated. Night coming on, both

Armies

Armies kept their Poſts till next Morning. 1642.
Tho' then neither thought themſelves fit to renew the Battle, yet both Armies faced one another the whole Day. At laſt the Earl of *Eſſex* ordered his Baggage to be drawn off, and marched towards *Warwick*. The Number of the Slain on the Field of Battle, was about 5000; each Side claimed the Victory, and, indeed, each Side had been worſted.

Three or four Days after this Battle, the King took *Banbury* Caſtle; where was a Garriſon of 800 Foot, and a Troop of Horſe; after which he retired to *Oxford*.

The King's Well-wiſhers who were in the Houſe of Commons, obſerving the Conſternation the major Part of the Members expreſſed, grew more bold, and ſcrupled not to propoſe a Peace, as a Means to gain the People to the King.

Several Declarations and Anſwers paſſed between the King and Parliament, charging each other with their Proceedings, as contrary to Law. The King was charged with employing Papiſts in his Army, and this was not foreign from the Truth; for he had commiſſioned the Papiſts to take up Arms in defence of his Perſon and themſelves, they having preſented a Petition to him for that Purpoſe.

The Parliament reſolved that his Majeſty ſhould be addreſſed for ſettling a Peace; not that they were brought to ſuch a Paſs as that the King's Word ſhould be looked upon as a ſufficient Security.

That

1642. That the Preparations of Forces, and other neceſſary Means for Defence, ſhould be proſecuted with all Vigour, if an honourable and ſafe Peace ſhould not be obtained: That the *Scots* ſhould be applied to for their Aſſiſtance in caſe of Neceſſity. Theſe Reſolutions broke the King's Meaſures, who thought of obtaining ſuch a Peace as would reſtore to him all his Prerogatives.

Theſe Reſolutions being taken, they took Care to recruit the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, by ordaining, that ſuch Apprentices as would liſt for Soldiers, ſhould reckon the Time ſpent in the Wars as part of that they were bound to ſerve by their Indentures; whereby great Numbers engaged in the Parliament's Service.

The King's Friends at *London* ſent him word, that if he would come and appear before *London* with his Army, they did not queſtion but ſuch Commotions would be raiſed in the City as would turn to his Account; and that they would exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their Power. To this End the King marched, and ſent ſome Troops before to *Reading*. The Parliament's Troops that were quarter'd there, were ſeized with ſuch a Terror, that they all left the Place; and the King came thither a few Days after with his Army.

Both Houſes were alarmed, when they heard the King was within 30 Miles of *London*: Therefore, whether with a Deſign to amuſe him, or with a real Intent, they ſent

to

to desire a Safe-conduct for a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majesty with a Petition for Peace. 1642.

The King granted a Safe-conduct, except only for Sir *John Evelyn*, because he had declared him a Traitor. In the mean time both Houses had Advice, that the Earl of *Essex* was marching towards *London* with the utmost Speed; for which Reason they were in no haste to send the Committee to the King, on Pretence of his scrupling to admit *Evelyn*.

However, the King marching forwards till he came to *Brentford*, seven Miles from *London*, attacked that Town. Part of Colonel *Hollis*'s Regiment were quarter'd there, who made a vigorous Defence; but the King became Master of the Town.

The Earl of *Essex*'s Army was indeed arrived near *London*, and the Earl himself went to the House of Peers; whereupon the House ordered the Lord Mayor to send out the Train'd Bands to join the Earl, and, by that, he became much stronger than the King's Army. The same Day the General made necessary Preparations for Battle; but the King withdrew to *Kingston*.

This War continued all the Winter in several Parts of the Kingdom, there being hardly a County free from it: But I shall not descend to the Particulars of all the little Skirmishes and Conflicts; yet I shall name some of the principal ones.

The Earl of *Newcastle*, who had levied an

1462. Army for the King in the Northern Parts, began his march towards *York*. He was ſtopped at the Paſſage of the River *Tees* by young *Hotham*, who had with him a Detachment of the little Army commanded by the Lord *Fairfax* for the Parliament; but the Earl forced the Paſſage, and came to *York* with about 8000 Men.

There were in the ſame County two warm Fights. The firſt at *Tadcaſter*, where the Lord *Fairfax* was attacked by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*; who, after an obſtinate Diſpute, was obliged, at laſt, to retreat. The ſecond was at *Giſborough*, where Sir *Hugh Cholmley* defeated 600 of the King's Party, commanded by Col. *Slingſby*, who was taken Priſoner, with a good Number of his Men.

Some Days after, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the General's Son, attacked the Town of *Leeds*, defended by Sir *William Savil* with 1500 Men, carried it by Storm, and took 500 Priſoners.

In the South, Sir *William Waller*, Commander for the Parliament, blew up *Farnham* Caſtle, and made the Garriſon Priſoners of War. Shortly after he took *Wincheſter*, and then *Chicheſter*, after an eight Days Siege.

Wilmot, Commiſſary-General of the King's Horſe, the Lord *Digby*, and others, attacked the Town of *Marlborough*, fortified by the Parliament, where was a numerous Garriſon. The Town being carried by Storm,

was

was plundered and burnt, and about 1000 of the Garrison slain and taken Prisoners. 1642.

Prince *Rupert* carried *Cirencester* by Assault, and took 1200 Prisoners.

The Lord *Brook* attacked some of the King's Forces intrenched in the Close of the Cathedral of *Litchfield*, and was there slain; but, after his Death, his Men carried the Close.

A Battle was fought at *Saltheath*, near *Stafford*, which was maintained on both Sides four Hours, till at last the Earl of *Northampton*, who commanded the King's Forces, being slain, the Parliament's Troops became victorious.

Sir *William Waller* surprized the Lord *Herbert*, who was besieging *Gloucester*, killed 500 of his Men, and took above 1000 Prisoners; after that he took *Chepstow* and *Monmouth*.

The 8000 Men which the Earl of *Newcastle* had raised in the four Counties in the North, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, who had entered into an Association to furnish the King with Men and Money, made the Parliament prosecute the same Method of Association; and several Counties joined in furnishing the Parliament with Men and Money. And thus each Side laboured to bring over what they could to their Party.

The King having retired to *Oxford*, carried thither the Prisoners that were taken at *Brentford* and *Edgehill*, and granted a Commission

1462. miſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to Sir *Robert Heath* to try ſome of theſe Priſoners; among whom was Capt. *John Lilburn*, who, with ſome others, were condemned to die for being taken in Arms againſt the King.

The Parliament hearing of this Sentence, declared, that if any Priſoner of War ſhould be put to Death by the King, they would inflict the like Puniſhment. This ſaved their Lives, the King not thinking proper to expoſe his Officers to the ſame Fate.

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London* preſented a Petition to the King, requeſting him to return to his Parliament, and to have whatſoever was amiſs in Church and State reformed by the Advice of both Houſes. To which the King returned a very gracious Anſwer; but nothing was concluded.

After this both Houſes ordered, that all Perſons coming from the King's Quarters to *London*, without a Safe-conduct, ſhould be treated as Spies.

After the Queen was in *Holland*, ſhe laboured effectually to procure the King Officers, Arms, and Ammunition; in which the Prince of *Orange*, her Son-in-law's Credit, was a great Help.

This made the Parliament ſend a Declaration to *Holland*, to deſire they would not aſſiſt the King; upon which they promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality, and engaged the Province of *Zealand* to the ſame Reſolution: they even arreſted ſome Ships laden with

with Ammunition and Soldiers for the King, 1463.
and offered to employ their Mediation for putting an End to the Troubles.

This did not hinder Supplies to be ſent to the King, by reaſon of the Prince of *Orange*'s great Credit; and probably the States-General had a-mind to keep in with both King and Parliament: For tho' they ſeized one of the Ships, as above; yet they granted the Queen ſo large and general a Paſſport, that, by virtue thereof, ſhe might tranſport into *England* Troops, Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition, in what Quantities ſhe pleaſed; and ſhe arrived in *February* in *Burlington-Bay*, with a very conſiderable Supply, and went from thence to *York*.

The King, by virtue of his Prerogative, adjourned the Courts of Juſtice to *Oxford* during *Hilary* Term; but the Parliament publiſhed an Ordinance againſt it.

The King had gained Mr *Robert Yeoman*, (the laſt Year Sheriff for *Briſtol*) and one of the principal Citizens, with ſome others, who had formed a Plot to ſeize *Briſtol* for the King. It was diſcovered the Night it was to be put in execution. The Conſpirators were impriſoned; and the Parliament iſſued a Commiſſion to proceed againſt them by Martial Law; and *Yeoman*, and one *Buchier*, were condemned to die, and executed, tho' the King, by Letters, did all he could to ſave them.

The Treaty for a Peace between the King and Parliament was now on foot at *Oxford*.

The

1643. The Parliament made Propositions for a Peace, and published them, to let the People see their sole Aim was for the Benefit and Security of the whole Nation; for they knew, at the same Time, that the King would not accept of the Conditions proposed: Neither had the King an Intention in good earnest to endeavour after a Peace; but he expressed his Desire also thereto, to satisfy the People. For this Reason the King, in this Treaty, urged the restoring the Laws to their former Vigour; and the Parliament insisted upon Security for the Observance of the same Laws; and thereby they both rendered a Peace impracticable: So the Treaty broke off, without any thing being done.

As the King stood in great Need of the Arms and Ammunition which the Queen had brought to *York*, he detached Prince *Rupert*, with 1200 Horse and 800 Foot, to go and establish a Communication between *York* and *Oxford*, by securing certain Places lying betwixt these two Cities.

The Prince marched to *Birmingham*, and took it by Storm. Then he took *Litchfield*, without any great Difficulty: But the Cathedral, with the Close, was a sort of Fortress, which he was obliged to besiege in form, it being strongly garrisoned; but, at last, they were forced to capitulate. The King re-called him from *Litchfield*, having Need of him to raise the Siege of *Reading*, enter'd upon by the Earl of *Essex*, with 16,000 Foot, and 3000 Horse.

Col. *Fielding*, who had the Command of the Garrison, capitulated, upon Condition of marching out with all his Arms and Baggage; tho' some of their Waggons were plundered as they passed through the Enemy's Army, contrary to the Articles of Capitulation. *Fielding* was afterwards accused, for not paying punctual Obedience to some of the King's Orders, and sentenced by the Council of War to lose his Head. This Sentence was afterwards remitted by the King; but his Regiment given to another. This Judgment occasioned a great deal of Dissention in the King's Army; some striving to vindicate the Sentence, whilst others passionately represented it as the most unjust that was ever given in the like Case. 1663.

As the War was carrying on in all Parts of the Kingdom, it is hardly possible to speak of the Military Actions of this second Campaign, according to the Order of Time, without Confusion; so shall follow the Order of Places.

The two Houses had ordered the Earl of *Essex* to go and besiege *Oxford*; but the Sickness that reign'd in his Army hindered this Undertaking for some Time. At last, tho' his Army was in an ill State, he marched within ten Miles of *Oxford*, where he stopped.

There was in the Earl's Army one Colonel *Hurry*, a *Scotsman*, who now deserted, and went over to the King. He having informed Prince *Rupert* of the Situation of

1643. of the Quarters of the Parliament's Army, the Prince ſet out with a Body of Horſe; and, at Break of Day, beat up the Quarters of two Regiments, and cut them in Pieces. Then he fell upon another Quarter, with the ſame Succeſs. Then he was retiring by a Bridge, where he had left a Guard: But, before he could reach the Bridge, the Earl of *Eſſex* had detached ſome Troops to ſtop the Prince; who, finding he was like to be intangled in a Lane, with the Enemy at his Heels, choſe rather to wait for them in open Field. He charged, therefore, theſe Horſe with ſuch Bravery, that he put them to Flight towards a Body of Foot, which the Earl of *Eſſex* was leading on himſelf. Whilſt the Horſe were flying, the Prince paſſed the Lane and Bridge, and enter'd *Oxford* in Triumph. *Hampden*, who had the Trial about Ship-money, was now ſlain. He was a Man of great Courage, Wiſdom, and Parts.

From this Time the King's Military Affairs began to flouriſh, and the Parliament was in great Perplexity. The Queen joined the King in *July*, with all her Men, Arms, and Ammunition. On the other Side, Sir *William Waller*, who was ſent into the Weſt by the Parliament, was entirely defeated, and his Army diſperſed.

Prince *Rupert* ſoon after ſat down before *Briſtol*, and the ſame Day ſeized the Ships that were in *King's-road*, laden with Goods of great

great Value, which the Inhabitants had put 1643.
on board, thinking them ſafeſt there.

Next Day the Prince held a Council of War, and reſolved to proceed by Aſſault, and not by Approach. The *Corniſh* Army that were with the Prince, attacked the City at three different Places; but were driven back with great Slaughter. Two Diviſions of Prince *Rupert*'s were likewiſe repulſed: But a third, commanded by Colonel *Waſhington*, had better Succeſs; the Colonel having made a Breach in the Wall, large enough for the Prince to enter with his Horſe; yet this only put him in Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs, beyond which was the City Wall, much ſtronger than the other. This, however, put the Governor *Fiennes* in a great Conſternation; and he ordered a Parley to be beaten. The Prince immediately granted the Capitulation deſired; but it was ill obſerved by the King's Soldiers, who made themſelves more than Amends for the Breach of the Capitulation at *Reading*. *Fiennes* was condemned to die by a Council of War for his cowardly Surrender; but was reprieved by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and paſſed the Reſidue of his Days beyond Sea.

Next Day the King went and beſieged *Glouceſter*; but the Earl of *Eſſex* came early to its Relief, and drew up his whole Army in view of the City. The King not thinking fit to hazard a Battle, raiſed the Siege; and the Earl of *Eſſex* marching into *Glouceſter*, found the Beſieged reduced to one

1643. single Barrel of Powder, and no better provided for other Stores.

The Earl of *Essex* then marched and surprized *Cirencester*, where lay two Regiments; after that he crossed North of *Wiltshire*.

The King hearing of the Rout they were taking, ordered Prince *Rupert* to march after them, who overtook them upon *Aubon-Chace*, where ensued a sharp Conflict. Prince *Rupert* having charged the Earl's Rear, put them into some Disorder. Soon after the King's Army coming up, joined Prince *Rupert* at *Newbury*.

The two Armies being then too near to part without Blows, both prepared for Battle, and the Fight began. Prince *Rupert*, as usual, performed Wonders with his Horse. He quickly made the Parliament's Horse give way; but took Care not to commit the same Fault he had done at *Edgehill*, by pursuing the Runaways too far. Then he charged the Infantry. The Battle was fought all the rest of the Day with pretty equal Success. Next Day the Earl of *Essex*, seeing the Coast clear, pursued his March. The King lost in this Battle above 20 Officers of Note.

After this Battle, the Earl of *Stamford* was sent into the West with an Army to join Sir *William Waller*. This made the King send thither the Marquis of *Hertford* and Prince *Maurice*, with a Body of Troops.

The Marquis in his Road took *Taunton*, the

the Garrison having retired to *Bridgewater*, on account of a Commotion raised by the Inhabitants. On the Morrow the Parliament's Troops quitted also *Bridgewater*; and in a few Days *Dunstar* Castle was delivered up to the King. 1643.

The Marquis of *Hertford* hearing, that Sir *William Waller* was within two Days March of him, drawing his Troops together with the utmost Diligence, and that he expected more Aid from *London*, resolved to attack him before he got more Strength. The Armies met near *Wells*, and a warm Action ensued, wherein Prince *Maurice* received two Cuts in his Head, and was beaten off his Horse, but fortunately relieved. Night obliged both Parties to retire; the King's to *Wells*, and the Parliament's to *Bath*.

Some Days after these two Armies came to a Battle at *Lansdown*, in which the Marquis lost above 1500 Horse; notwithstanding, he drove *Waller* from his Post, who retired to *Bath*; and the Marquis remained entire Master of the Field.

This inconsiderable Advantage which he had gained, with the Loss of almost all his Horse, threw him into a very ill Situation: So he resolved to march to *Oxford*; but left his Infantry at the *Devizes*, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Hopton*.

As soon as the Marquis had left the Infantry at the *Devizes*, *Waller* came before the Town with his whole Army, and invested them;

1643. them; who were in a very ill State, by reason of the Scarcity of Provisions, which obliged *Hopton* to come to a Treaty with *Waller*: yet he was resolved not to yield till the last Extremity, expecting Relief every Day from *Oxford*.

Waller was so confident that they were at his Mercy, that he sent the Parliament word, that their Business was done, and by the next Post he would send the Number and Quality of his Prisoners.

The King sent the Lord *Wilmot* with 1500 Horse to their Relief, who came within two Miles of the *Devizes*, before the Capitulation between *Hopton* and *Waller* was signed.

Waller was no sooner informed of the Enemy, but he drew his whole Army in Battalia on the Top of a Hill, called *Round-way-down*, over which the King's Troops must pass to join those in the Town. *Wilmot* finding he could not pursue his Design without fighting, drew up within Musket-shot of *Waller*'s Army; yet *Waller*'s Army was much superior in Number, which encouraged him to begin the Fight, by charging the Enemy with a Regiment of Cuirassiers lately sent from *London*, and which, till then, had been deemed invincible. This Regiment was so vigorously repulsed, that they fled in Confusion; which infused such a Terror into *Waller*'s Troops, that they made but a very faint Resistance.

Hopton seeing from the Town the Disorder

der the Enemies were in, came up with his Foot; and bravely seconding *Wilmot*, they quickly put the whole Army to Rout, killed 5 or 6000 Men, and took 900 Prisoners. 1643.

Wilmot returned in Triumph to *Oxford*; and the Marquis of *Hertford* took the Command of the Army, and appeared before the City of *Bath*. The Gates were opened upon the first Summons.

Then the King ordered his *Cornish* Army to join Prince *Rupert*; and they besieged and became Master of *Bristol*.

Also Prince *Maurice* was sent into the West with an Army, and took *Weymouth*, *Dorchester*, *Exeter*, and *Portland* Castle. He laid Siege to *Dartmouth*, which he took. *Plymouth* was besieged next, the Conquest of which he found would be difficult. I shall here leave the Affairs of the West, and speak something of those in the North.

The Earl of *Newcastle* was come to *York* with his Army. The Lord *Fairfax* was obliged to keep at a little Distance from that City, to avoid being attacked by an Army much more numerous than his own. All the Northern Parts, from *York* to the Borders of *Scotland*, were for the King; the Southern Part of *Yorkshire* was for the Parliament; and the War was carrying on in the middle Parts of this County to the Right and Left.

The Lord *Fairfax* having detached 1500 Men, under the Command of his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, ordered *Wakefield* to be attacked,

1643. tacked, where lay 3000 Men of the King's Party.

This Aſſault was made with ſuch Vigour and Conduct, that the King's Troops were chaſed out of the Town, leaving behind them many ſlain and taken. Amongſt the Priſoners was General *Goring*, who commanded.

Preſently after the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was fully revenged. Having taken *Howley-houſe*, he marched towards *Bradford*, and in the Way was met on *Atherton* Moor by Lord *Fairfax*, whom he entirely routed. *Fairfax*, with the Remains of his Army, went to *Hull*; and the Parliament made him Governor of that important Place, in the room of Sir *John Hotham*, who had lately been apprehended by Order of Parliament.

The Lord *Willoughby*, for the Parliament, had taken *Gainſborough*, a Town in *Lincolnſhire*. The Earl of *Newcaſtle* began his March to beſiege it; and, at his Approach, he detached a Party of Horſe to inveſt the Town. *Oliver Cromwell* arriving at the ſame Time, with Deſign to ſupply the Town with Proviſions, defeated this Detachment, threw Supplies into the Town, and retreated in good Order. Shortly after the Earl of *Newcaſtle* re-took *Gainſborough*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lincoln*: After which he went and beſieged *Hull*, whilſt the King was before *Glouceſter*.

The Lord *Fairfax*, aſſiſted by Sir *John Meldrum*, a *Scotſman*, defended the Town with

with Bravery and Conduct five Weeks: 1643.
then he made a grand Sally; and, after a very obstinate Fight, they drove the Besiegers from their Trenches, and seized their Cannon. The Earl, now created Marquis upon this, was forced to raise the Siege.

The same Day part of the Earl of *Newcastle*'s Army, commanded by the Lord *Widdrington*, were routed at *Horncastle* by the Earl of *Manchester*, who had with him Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and *Cromwell*.

I shall now speak of the Affairs of *Scotland*. The King, in his last Journey thither, had been forced to grant the *Scots* whatever they desired; and the Kirk Party was now become stronger than ever, most of the Offices of the King being in their Hands.

The *Scots* wished for nothing more than a Presbyterian Government in *England*; and promised their utmost Assistance to bring it about. They summoned a Convention of States, without the King's Authority; in which it was proposed, that, considering the Danger the King was in, by reason of Armies now levying in the North of *England*, *Scotland* should be put in a Posture of Defence.

The King hearing of this, sent a long Declaration to justify his Proceedings: And the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the rest of the King's Party, met at the opening of the Convention, and voted it no Convention; but all the rest voted it a free Convention.

The King pretended afterwards, that the

Duke

1643. Duke of *Hamilton*, and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerk*, might have hindered the Convention, if they had ſerved him with Sincerity. Upon which theſe two Lords, being repaired to *Oxford*, were apprehended, and ſent to Priſon. *Lanerk* made his Eſcape.

The ill Condition of the Parliament's Affairs, at this Juncture, was the Occaſion of the meeting of this Convention; to which the Parliament applied for Aſſiſtance, and obtained all they deſired, under a Treaty, which, in effect, tended to the eſtabliſhing of a Preſbyterian Government in *England*. It was termed, *A ſolemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

The Covenant was ſwore to by both Parties, to extirpate Church Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy; and a Preſbyterian Government was to be introduced.

Shortly after the King iſſued out a Proclamation, to forbid the taking of the Covenant; but it had no great Effect.

After all the Lords and Council had been ſummoned to ſign the Covenant, the Duke of *Hamilton* and ſome others refuſing to ſign it, had all their Lands ſeized, and their Perſons apprehended; yet the King had cauſed him

him to be arrested at *Oxford*, as has been said. 1643.

The Covenant being signed, a Treaty was also drawn up and signed, whereby *Scotland* was to furnish the Parliament with an Army, consisting of 18,000 Foot, 2000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons, with a suitable Train of Artillery; and *England* was to pay them 30,000 *l.* a Month.

The same Day the Covenant was sent to *England*, a Proclamation was issued out in the King's Name, according to the usual Stile, commanding all the Subjects of *Scotland*, from 16 to 60 Years old, to provide themselves with Ammunition, Arms, and 40 Days Provisions, and to be in readiness to march for the Defence of the Kingdom.

The King could not bear that Proclamations in his Name should issue against himself, so writ Letters to the Council of *Scotland*, commanding the Proclamations to be called in: But it was to no Purpose; for the King as the Head, and the People as the Body, are deemed inseparable; and if they happen to be divided, then each pretends to act for the Good of the whole, still under the Authority of the King as the Head. The *Scots* published a Manifesto to justify what they had done; to which the King made an Answer in his own Justification.

As to *Ireland*, the Success of the first Campaign had been so equal on both Sides, that neither could boast of having gained any great Advantage.

1643. The King finding it would be hard for him to resist the Torrent, which he foresaw by the next Spring would be ready to overwhelm him, began to think of Expedients which might allay the Distempers in *Ireland*, so that he might employ his *English* Forces there to subdue the Parliament; and managed it so, that a Truce was entered into by the Lords Justices and Council there, by virtue of a Commission granted by the King for that Purpose; and the Cessation was signed for one whole Year, on Condition that each of the two Parties should remain in Possession of what they then held.

Both Houses of Parliament insisted, that they should have been consulted in the Truce, and that it was made with an Intent to employ the *English* Army against them; therefore declared the intended Cessation void, promising to stand by those who should refuse to submit to it.

The King, who was sure of the Concurrence of the Lords Justices, the Council of State, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, General of the Army, ordered it so, that all the *English* Troops that could be spared were sent over to him. These Forces landed at *Mostyn* in *Flintshire*; and their first Attempt was upon *Hawarden* Castle, which surrendered, after taking of some other small Places. The Lord *Fairfax* entirely routed the *Irish* Army, consisting of 3000 Foot, who were almost all slain and taken Prisoners, and of 1800 Horse, most of whom escaped by Flight;

Flight; but were so dispersed, that they could be of no Service to the King. Thus the King rather received a Prejudice by the *Irish* Troops, in that, by all his Proceedings to procure them, he confirmed the Mistrust abundance of People had entertained with respect to the *Irish* Rebellion. 1643.

The King had still some Friends in the Parliament-house, who strove to bring about a Peace. He had also many Friends in *London*; and his Majesty frequently sent Messengers thither, under colour of bringing Messages to the Parliament, that he might convey his Instructions to his Friends, and be exactly informed of what passed in both Houses and the City.

The Parliament made an Order, that all Persons that were in Arms against the Parliament, and should come to *London* without a Safe-conduct, or send an Agent or Servant thither, shall be deemed Spies.

The King could not be ignorant of this Order; yet, on pretence that it was not signified to him in form, he sent a Message to the Parliament, with an Offer of Peace in general Terms, without demanding a Safe-conduct.

The Parliament thinking, that by this kind of Stratagem the King carried on a private Correspondence, ordered the Messenger to be sent to Prison, for coming without a Safe-conduct.

Three Days after they impeached the Queen of High Treason, and sent up the Im-

1643. Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords. The King being vexed at theſe extraordinary Proceedings, iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding Obedience to the Orders of both Houſes.

Soon after a Plot was diſcovered, which had been carrying on ſome Time by the King and his Friends in *London*. The Deſign was, to ſeize the King's Children, and ſecure ſeveral Members of Parliament, under Pretence of bringing them to a legal Trial; to ſeize upon the Out-works, Forts, Magazines, Gates, and other Places of Importance.

This Diſcovery cauſed both Houſes to unite themſelves ſtill more ſtrictly together by a new Covenant or Oath, which was tendered to all the Members, and then to the Army. *Tomkins*, *Chaloner*, and two more Conſpirators, were hanged. *Waller*, another Conſpirator, was fined 10,000 *l.* and baniſhed the Kingdom. *Hampden* and *Haſſel*, two others, died in Priſon.

The King being Maſter of *Briſtol*, and having had Succeſs in ſome late Engagements, was preparing to lay Siege to *Glouceſter*. At this ſucceſsful Juncture he thought it proper to iſſue a Proclamation; wherein he ſet forth, that tho' lately crowned with great Succeſs by his Arms, yet nothing was deſired more by him than a Peace; and he ſo managed it, that the Houſe of Lords came to a Reſolution, and deſired the Com-

Commons to join with them, in ſending Propoſitions for a Peace to the King. 1643.

The Commons were at a great Stand what to do herein, eſpecially becauſe the Propoſitions were drawn up by the Lords, and not ſo much in their Favour as they could wiſh. However, fearing a Refuſal might be attended with bad Conſequences, they agreed to ſend the Propoſitions.

Next Day the Lord Mayor of *London*, attended with a Crowd of People, came to the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, and delivered, on the Part of the Common Council, a Petition; wherein the Houſe was beſought to reject the Propoſitions of the Peers. The Lord Mayor affirmed alſo, that the People of *London* were ready to exert their utmoſt Efforts for the vigorous Proſecution of the War. Whereupon the Houſe took Courage again, and reverſed the Reſolution of the foregoing Day.

The King's Friends were at a Loſs in their Turn; yet thought of an Expedient, to get the Women to riſe: and, ſoon after, a Petition for Peace was preſented to the Commons, by about 3000 Women, with white Silk Ribbons in their Hats.

A general Anſwer being ſent to them, their Number, by Noon, increaſed to 5000. They came to the Door of the Houſe, crying out, *Peace, Peace, give us thoſe Traitors that are againſt Peace, that we may tear them in Pieces; give us that Dog*, Pym.

Part

1643. Part of the Train'd Bands fired upon them with Powder only, to fright them; which they laughed at, and getting some Brick-bats, chased them fairly away. At last some Troopers were forced to be sent for, and, after some Women being killed, with much ado they were prevailed upon to disperse; and the Parliament continued in their last Resolution.

All this Time a new Project was on foot to gain the Earl of *Essex* to the King's Side, who commanded the Parliament's Army; and the Moment he should declare for the King, all the Lords that were for the King were to join him against the Parliament: But the Earl was a Person of Integrity, and not to be prevailed upon. This made the Lords of the King's Party leave the House, and go to the King, for fear the Earl should discover them. Thus failed the second Plot, in a Manner very disadvantageous to the King; for his Friends having now most of them left the House, the Parliament had fewer Obstacles to hinder their Designs.

Shortly after, the Earl of *Essex*'s Army was augmented, and enabled to go and relieve *Gloucester*; and the Covenant with *Scotland* was fully approved of by the Parliament.

Sir *John Hotham*, formerly Governor of *Hull*, and his Son, were both imprisoned by the Parliament, and accused of an Intention to deliver up *Hull* to the King; for which they

they were condemned by the Parliament, and both executed. 1643.

The Commons made an Order, that King *James*'s Book for tolerating Sports on *Sundays*, which *Charles* had caufed to be publifh'd afrefh in the Churches, was to be burnt by the common Hangman.

The Parliament paffed an Ordinance for feizing the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Revenues, for the Publick Ufe; that is to fay, to be employed in the War againft the King. And the King iffued a Proclamation, forbidding all Tenants or Debtors to pay any Rents or Debts to fuch Perfons as were in open Rebellion againft him. But thefe kind of Orders, as well from the King as the Parliament, were executed only in Places where the Power was in their Hands.

Moft of the Lords who had withdrawn themfelves from the Parliament, and retired to the King, meeting but with a very cold Reception at *Oxford*, thought fit to change Sides once more, and return to *London*.

Both Houfes of Parliament ordered, that a new Great Seal fhould be made; which was done, put into the Hands of Commiffioners, and ordered, that the new Great Seal fhould be of like Force, Power, and Validity, as any Great Seal of *England* had ever been.

The King fent privately to *London* one *Daniel Kniveton*, a State Meffenger, with three Proclamations: One againft taking the folemn League and Covenant; another a-

1643. againſt the Obſervation of the monthly Faſt, enjoined by the Parliament; a Third for removing the Seals of the Green Wax Offices belonging to the Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas, to *Oxford*. He afterwards ſent one *Carpenter* with an Order to the Judges, to adjourn the Term to *Oxford*. Theſe two were both taken and condemned. The firſt was executed, and the other was reprieved and ſent to *Bridewell*; from whence he eſcaped, and returned to *Oxford*.

The Parliament ordered the Aſſembly of Divines, then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, to write Letters to the Churches of *Zealand*, *Holland*, *France*, and *Switzerland*, to warn them againſt the Artifices of the King's Agents; ſetting forth a State of the Affairs of *England*, and the Intention of the King's Counſellors to introduce Popery.

Some Time after, the King, on his Part, publiſhed a Manifeſto, addreſſed to all the Proteſtant Churches, in order to efface the Impreſſions which the Parliament's circular Letter might have cauſed.

The King was very much at a Loſs how to maintain the War the enſuing Campaign, for want of Money: However, he thought of an Expedient; which was, to require all the Members that, according to him, had been driven from the Parliament-houſe, to repair to *Oxford*. This Parliament met at *Oxford* the 22d of *January* 1643-4.

The firſt Step this Parliament took was, to try to ſatisfy the Publick, that their Inten-

tention was to labour for a Peace: To this End they writ a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, wherein they desired that some Persons might be appointed on each Side, to treat of such a Peace as might redeem their Country from the Brink of Destruction. 1643.

The Earl of *Essex* returned a short Answer, That the Letter not being addressed to the two Houses of Parliament, nor any Acknowledgment of them being therein, he could not communicate it to them: That the Maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and the Privileges thereof, was that for which himself and his whole Party were resolved to spend their Blood; as being the Foundation whereon all the Laws and Liberties of the Nation were built.

It was known, however, that this Answer had been concerted by a Committee of both Houses; and this made the King send a Message in a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, directed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, assembled at *Westminster*. This Message contained the usual Offers for Peace. The King added, that he took this Step with the Advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, assembled at *Oxford*.

They answered, that they would never own the Members that had deserted both Houses, for a *Parliament*. They resolved also, that with their Lives and Fortunes they would defend and preserve the just Rights and full Power of the present Parliament at *Westminster*: And that his Majesty's Concurrence there-

1643. therein would be the most effectual and ready Means of procuring a firm and lasting Peace.

After this the King published a Proclamation, wherein he blames the Parliament at *Westminster* for refusing to enter into a Treaty of Peace. And they likewise publish'd a Manifesto, wherein they pretended to shew, that under the specious Colour of proposing a Peace, a Snare was laid to engage them tacitly to own, that they were not the Parliament; but that the true Parliament was assembled at *Oxford*: And thus they endeavoured to throw the Blame on each other, and thereby gain the People to their Party.

The *Oxford* Parliament voted, that the *Scots* having entered the Kingdom in a hostile Manner, had thereby denounced War against *England*; and that all who should assist them should be deemed Traitors and Enemies to the State. They also voted the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* guilty of High Treason.

This Parliament, however, was at no small Loss how to aid the King effectually; for that was the main Business. They would not venture to lay a general Tax, therefore proposed to advise the King, to borrow 100,000 *l.* of the richest Men of his Party; and a List of these being brought, the King wrote circular Letters for that Purpose.

Afterwards, the *Oxford* Parliament hearing that both Houses at *Westminster* had laid an Imposition upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and other Commodities, which they called an

Ex-

Excise, a Word never before heard of in 1644.
England, made no Scruple to enjoin the like in the Counties where the King's Authority was acknowledged.

The *Oxford* Parliament did nothing of Moment after this; it was prorogued to the Month of *October*, but never met again.

Three Days after the opening of this Parliament, the *Scots* entered *England* with an Army of 18,000 Foot, and 3000 Horse: The Earl of *Leven* was their General, *John Bailey* Lieutenant General of the Foot, and *David Lesley* Major-General of the Horse.

The Marquis of *Newcastle*, who commanded in the North for the King, came to *Newcastle*; and the *Scots* Army approaching the Town, the General ordered it to be summoned; but the Summons had no Effect.

As soon as the Lord *Fairfax* heard that, the Marquis of *Newcastle* had left *York*, and left the Command of the City to Colonel *John Bellasis*, he resolved to join his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and march towards *York*.

Colonel *Bellasis* having Notice of this Design, departed from *York* with the best Part of his Garrison, to hinder their joining; and went and posted himself at *Selby*. A few Days after, the Lord *Fairfax*, having taken a great Compass about, found Means to join his Son, and suddenly attacked *Selby*, forced the Town, took the Colonel Prisoner, with 1600 of his Men, and killed a great Number.

The Marquis of *Newcastle* hearing of this Defeat, marched with all Speed to *York*, to save

1644. ſave the City; and came very ſeaſonably: For nine Days after the Fight at *Selby*, the Lord *Fairfax* joined the *Scots*, and they came and beſieged *York*: But as this City was too large in Extent, to be inveſted on all Sides by the two Armies, they deſired the Earl of *Mancheſter*, General of the Forces of the Eaſtern aſſociated Counties, to advance to this Siege.

At the ſame Time the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Meldrum*, with 5000 of the Parliament's Forces, laid Siege to *Newark*, As ſoon as the King had Notice of it, he ſent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, to do all he could to relieve the Place. The Prince advanced with 7000 Men.

Meldrum, who commanded alone, (the Lord *Willoughby* being gone elſewhere) drew up his Forces a little from the Town, in order to fight the Prince. The 22d of *March* there was a pretty ſharp Battle. But next Day *Meldrum* finding himſelf too weak, ſent a Trumpet to the Prince for a Parley; and it was agreed, that *Meldrum*'s Army ſhould march off, but to deliver up to the Prince, all their Ordnance and Ammunition, with about 3000 Muſkets.

The Prince, after this Expedition, which gained him great Honour, went into *Lancaſhire*, to relieve the Counteſs of *Derby*; who, for the Space of 18 Weeks, was beſieged in *Latham-houſe*, and made a gallant Defence againſt a Body of 2000 Men. The

Prince

Prince, in his Way, carried by Aſſault *Stopworth*. 1644.

The Beſiegers raiſed the Siege, and part of them, under the Command of Colonel *Rigby*, went and reinforced the Garriſon of *Bolton*, in *Lancaſhire*. The Prince purſued, and without giving them Time, took the Town by Storm.

After this he attacked *Liverpool*. The Governor, Colonel *More*, after ſome Reſiſtance, conveyed on board the Ships in the Pool, moſt part of his Soldiers, and the richeſt Goods in the Town; and then the Prince, with little Oppoſition, enter'd it.

Here the King writ to the Prince, to go with all Speed and relieve *York*: The King ſaid in his Letter, That his Affairs were in ſo very ill a State, that it would not be enough, tho' his Highneſs raiſed the Siege of *York*, if he did not likewiſe beat the *Scots* Army: Which Words induced the Prince to fight a Battle, which proved very fatal to the King.

The Earl of *Mancheſter*, who had done great Exploits with his Army, joined the two Armies at the Siege of *York*. On the 24th of *June*, the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* ſallied out, and furiouſly attacked the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Men; but, after a ſharp Conflict, was beaten back with Loſs.

Prince *Rupert* advanced near *York* with an Army not much inferior to the three employed in the Siege. The three Generals upon this held a Conſultation, raiſed the Siege,

1644. Siege, joined their Armies, and posted themselves on *Marston-moor.*

The Prince had already reliev'd the Town, and had a Conference with the Marquis, telling him, he had his Majesty's Orders to fight the Enemy. The Marquis was of Opinion, that it was not proper at that Juncture; and especially as he expected 5000 Men from the North: But the Prince, who was exceeding haughty, made not the least Compliment to the Marquis; but resolved to fight them next Morning, and ordered all the Troops in *York* to be ready.

The Prince headed his Left Wing, his Right Wing was commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas* and Colonel *Hurry*, and the main Body by General *Goring*. It does not appear that the Marquis of *Newcastle* had any Command in this Action.

The Parliament's Right Wing, opposite to Prince *Rupert*, was led by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; the Left by the Earl of *Manchester*, assisted by *Oliver Cromwell*, who served in his Army as Lieutenant-General. In the main Battalia towards the Right, was the Lord *Fairfax*, and General *Leven* towards the Left. At last, between Six and Seven o'Clock, in the Evening, the Parliament-Generals gave the Signal, and marched towards the Enemy.

The Left Wing of the King's Army, commanded by the Prince, was entirely routed, whilst the King's Right Wing had the same Advantage over the Left of the Par-

Parliament's. The two victorious Wings, after chasing their Enemies, returned to the Field of Battle, and met Face to Face. Here the Fight was renewed and maintained on both Sides with great Warmth and Vigour; till at last, Night approaching, the King's Horse were put to Flight, and the Prince's Army was pursued within a Mile of *York*, where they retired in the Night. 1644.

The Countrymen that were employ'd to bury the Dead gave out, that they interred 4150 Bodies. It was reported, that 3000 of the Prince's Men were killed; but the Conquerors affirmed they lost not above 300 Men.

The Marquis of *Newcastle* repaired that very Day to *Scarborough*, and embarked for *Hamburgh*; and the Prince left *York*, and marched towards *Chester* with the Remains of his Army. Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major-General *Porter*, Major-General *Tilyard*, and the Lord *Goring*'s Son, were among the Prisoners.

It is no hard Matter to guess at the Reason why the Marquis of *Newcastle* quitted the King's Service, after having been so unworthily treated by Prince *Rupert*. He believed, doubtless, that he could not with Honour resume his former Command, having been deemed incapable to serve the King on so important an Occasion. Hitherto he had always shewn for the King a Zeal and Affection hardly to be equalled.

The Parliament's Generals made the most of their Victory, and the Dissention of their Ene-

1644. Enemies. They returned to their Posts before *York*, which was left to the Discretion of Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governor; who, seeing himself unable to hold out long, surrendered upon honourable Terms.

They were no sooner in the Possession of *York*, but the three Armies separated. The Lord *Fairfax*, with his Forces, remained at *York*, as Governor; the Earl of *Manchester* marched towards *Lincoln*; and the Earl of *Leven* marched Northwards to join the Earl of *Calendar*, who was advancing with a strong Reinforcement from *Scotland*.

When these Forces were join'd, they went and laid Siege to *Newcastle*, which surrendered upon Discretion. Thus the Battle of *Marston-Moor* was the Cause of the King's losing all the North.

The Lord *Hopton*, with an Army of 6000 Men, resolved to give Battle to *Waller*, who commanded an Army for the Parliament. The two Armies met on *Cheriton-Down*, and a Battle ensued, wherein the Lord *Hopton* was defeated, and forced to retire to *Reading*, and afterwards to *Oxford*. *Waller* marched to *Winchester*, and became Master of the City.

The Success that the Parliament's Forces had obtained, put them upon an Intention to besiege *Oxford*; for which Purpose they ordered the two Armies, commanded by the Earl of *Essex* and *Waller*, to join. *Essex*'s Army consisted of 12,000 Foot and 3000 Horse; and *Waller*'s of 7000 Foot and 1500 Horse.

Horse. These Generals marched from *London*, with an Intent to besiege *Oxford*; and accordingly came before the City. 1644.

The King being afraid he should be shut up in *Oxford*, marched out in the Night, and ordered his Horse and a small Body of Foot to wait on him at a certain Place; and, at length, with great Fatigue, he got to *Worcester*.

The two Generals were surprized when they heard that the King had escaped: But, as their Orders was not to besiege the Place, unless the King staid there, they did not undertake the Siege.

The Earl of *Essex* had Orders to follow the King; but he marched into the West. When he enter'd *Devonshire*, the Queen, who had been at *Exeter* some Time, and there been brought to Bed of a Princess, called *Henrietta*, found Means to withdraw into *Cornwall*, and soon after into *France*, with a Convoy of Men of War sent her by the Prince of *Orange*.

Prince *Maurice*, who had laid Siege to the little Town of *Lyme*, which held out with more Obstinacy than was expected, raised the Siege upon the Earl of *Essex*'s Approach, and retired to *Exeter*.

The Earl of *Essex* possessed himself of *Dorchester*, *Weymouth*, *Barnstaple*, and several other Places; and, in his Way, took one Captain *Howard*, who had deserted and gone over to the King. He was tried by a Council of War, condemn'd, and exe-

1644. cuted. Upon this Prince *Maurice* caused a Sea Captain, called *Turpin*, who was taken Prisoner in attempting to relieve *Exeter*, to be executed. The Parliament took this very ill, because his Case was different from *Howard*'s; and having Serjeant *Glanvil* in their Custody, ordered him to be impeached of High Treason. Soon after the King's Party caused 14 Clothiers to be hanged; and the Parliament ordered eight *Irishmen* to be executed, who had been made Prisoners in some Action. These are the sad Effects of Civil Wars. I shall leave the Affairs of the West, and relate what the King did after leaving *Oxford*.

Waller was in pursuit of the King, who had but a small Army with him; so he made a Shew as if he would march towards *Shrewsbury* and join Prince *Rupert*. *Waller*, who expected him upon that Route, pursued; but the King had made a sudden Turn, and marched back towards *Oxford*, where he was joined by the rest of his Army.

Waller having been thus circumvented, returned; and, at length, the two Armies came in sight, and *Waller* fell upon the King's Rear; but was beaten back with the Loss of many of his Men, and part of his Cannon.

The two Armies faced each other for the Space of two Days; after which they both drew off, each taking a different Rout.

The King, after this, marched into the West, where he had many Friends, most of the

the Gentry being for him. He came to 1644.
Exeter, where Prince *Maurice* and ſome *Welſh* Troops joined him; which put him at the Head of a more numerous Army than the Earl of *Eſſex*'s.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, upon the King's Approach, called a Council of War, to conſult what was to be done; and, at laſt, by the Advice of Lord *Roberts* of *Truro*, it was reſolved to march into *Cornwall*, hoping that that Country would all declare for the Parliament.

The King ſoon followed him, with Intention to give him Battle: And finding him entangled in a Country where he wanted Proviſions, writ to him, endeavouring, in his Letter, to bring him over to his Side; but it was to no Purpoſe.

The Earl of *Eſſex* found that the People of *Cornwall* were ſo far from riſing in his Favour, that they ran in great Crowds to join with the King's Army; and *Eſſex* was put to ſuch Straits, that he was for abandoning his Army, for fear of falling into the King's Hands: But before he did ſo, he ordered Sir *William Balfour* to endeavour to ſave the Horſe; which he perform'd very fortunately in a dark miſty Night, by paſſing unobſerved through the King's Quarters. Then *Eſſex* took Ship with ſome Officers, and retired to *Plymouth*, leaving Major-General *Skipton* to ſee to procure the beſt Terms he could for the Foot.

Articles were enter'd into, whereby the

King

1644. King was to have delivered up to him all the Cannon and Train of Artillery, with all Carriages, and all Arms and Ammunition, except Swords and Piſtols of all Officers above the Degree of Corporals: In Conſideration whereof, the Army was to march away unmoleſted; and the Sick and Wounded to be tranſported to *Plymouth*.

It is a little ſtrange, that the King, having it in his Power entirely to reduce this Army, ſhould be content with theſe Terms: For the Parliament wanted neither Arms nor Ammunition; and this very Army was ſoon ſet on foot again. No doubt but the King had his Reaſons for ſo doing.

Tho' *Eſſex* might juſtly have been upbraided for marching into the Weſt, contrary to Orders, and of entangling himſelf in the narrow County of *Cornwall*; yet he was received with great Reſpect, it not being a proper Juncture for the Parliament to examine into his Conduct; but ſpeedy Care was taken to recruit and arm his ſhattered Army.

After this Victory, the King ſent to the Parliament a Meſſage, with an Offer of Peace in the general Way as formerly. This was deſigned to make an Impreſſion upon the People, and gain them to his Side.

It has been formerly obſerved, how much the King neglected the Affairs of the Elector *Palatine*, who was now brought to ſuch Straits, that he was forced to retire to *London*. The King, his Uncle, had allowed him a Pen-

Pension; but it was badly paid: However, the Parliament took Pity of him, and allowed him 8000 *l.* a-year. 1644.

The King always imagining that the People in general would declare for him, if an Opportunity offered, thought this a fit Juncture to ingage them; so resolved to march directly to *London*, hoping that his Army would encrease much in his March. To this Purpose he made a Proclamation, full of Expressions of Affection and Duty, with general Offers for a Peace: But these kind of Artifices of his was not attended with the expected Success; the People had not that Affection for him that he imagined.

However, he marched forwards; but his Army, instead of increasing, as he expected, daily diminished by Fatigues, by want of Money, Shoes and Stockings, and by Sickness. The Horse being also discontent (for they had received no Pay this Campaign) he was forced to stay till the Eastern Counties should provide him Money. At last, being come to *Salisbury*, there he altered his Resolution, and marched to his old Quarters at and about *Oxford*.

The Parliament was very busy all this Time in recruiting their Armies. The Earl of *Essex*'s Army, the Earl of *Manchester*'s, and Sir *William Waller*'s, being all in good Condition again, the three Armies joined the 21st of *October*.

The King detached the Earl of *Northampton*, with three Regiments of Horse, to go

1464. go and relieve *Banbury* Caſtle, which had been beſieged ever ſince *July* laſt, and was now reduced to the laſt Extremity. The Earl ſucceeded in this Expedition: But the King was like to pay dear for it, ſeeing within a few Days he was forced to fight, deprived of the Aid of theſe three Regiments; for the King having marched to *Newbury*, the Parliament's Forces advanced very near him. The King, however, fortified himſelf in the beſt Manner he could, and placed his Foot in the Intrenchments, whilſt the Horſe were poſted in two open Fields cloſe by; and, for ſome Days, there were frequent Skirmiſhes between the two Armies. At laſt, the 27th of *October*, being *Sunday*, the Parliament-Generals having divided their Forces into two Bodies, attacked the King's Intrenchments at two ſeveral Places. The Fight began about Three or Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, and held till Night, and was exceeding ſharp, each Side repulſing the other by Turns. The Aſſailants, at laſt, forced part of the Intrenchments, and took ſome Pieces of Ordnance; but Night hindered them from improving this Advantage, and put an End to the Fight.

The King fearing the Enemy would next Morning penetrate into his Lines, withdrew in the Night, marched to *Wallingford*, and left his heavy Cannon and Baggage in *Dennington* Caſtle.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was not in the Battle: He had quitted the Army ſome Time before;

fore; whether on account of some Indispo- 1644.
sition, or perhaps out of some Discontent, not being able to agree either with *Manchester or Waller.*

It was thought strange the Parliament's Generals did not attack the King as he retreated, which they could not be ignorant of, it being then Full Moon: But this was not their greatest Error; the King left his Cannon, Ammunition, and Baggage in *Dennington* Castle. They should have employ'd their whole Strength to take the Castle: But this Negligence can be imputed to nothing but the Dissention sprung up amongst them; and grew so high, that whatever was proposed by one, was sure to be opposed by the other.

The King being informed of the Discord between the Commanders of the Parliament's Forces, there being no Commander in Chief, took the Advantage of so favourable a Juncture, and marched with 6000 Foot and 5000 Horse to *Dennington* Castle, carried off all he had left there, and then retired to *Oxford.* The Parliament's Army, after holding a Council of War, and viewing the King's Strength, did not dare to give him Battle. And thus ended this Year's Campaign.

I shall now speak of some other Occurrences of this Year. The Parliament passed an Ordinance, enjoining every Family within the Bills of Mortality, for three Months,

1644. to forbear one Meal a Week, and contribute the Value thereof for the Publick Occasions.

The Affairs of the War were so publickly debated in Parliament, that the King was acquainted with the Resolutions there taken, before they were begun to be executed: But this Year the Parliament ordered their Affairs by Committees, without being obliged to communicate their Resolves to both Houses. This was a considerable Advantage, as the King had not so good an Information.

The States-General sent Ambassadors into *England* to offer their Mediation, which the two Houses made no great Account of, knowing what Credit the Prince of *Orange*, the King's Son-in-law, had in these Provinces.

It was ordered by the House of Commons, that the Fine imposed by the Star-chamber upon Mr *Denzil Hollis*, for his asserting the Liberties of his Country in Parliament, should be repaid him out of the King's Revenue.

The Lords *Macguire* and *Macmahone*, who were apprehended at *Dublin* the very Day they were to surprize the Castle, and sent into *England*, where they had been confined in the Tower, found Means to break the Prison, and conceal themselves in a House in *London:* But unluckily hearing a Woman crying Oysters in the Street, one of them put his Head out of the Window to call her, and was that In-

Inſtant eſpied by one who knew him, and gave Notice to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who ſeized them; and they were both condemned and executed. 1644.

William Laud, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been a Priſoner in the Tower about four Years, was now brought to his Trial, and a Bill of Attainder paſſed againſt him, as in the Caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*. This Bill ordained, that he ſhould ſuffer Death, as in Caſes of High Treaſon; and ſoon after both Houſes ordered he ſhould be executed. The King ſent a Pardon; but it was over-ruled and rejected, and he beheaded on a Scaffold.

The ſame Day the Lords paſſed the Bill of Attainder againſt the Archbiſhop. They paſſed likewiſe an Ordinance, that the Book of Common Prayer ſhould be laid aſide, and the Directory eſtabliſhed, which had been framed by the Aſſembly of Divines. By this the Church of *England* was rendered, by publick Authority, compleatly Preſbyterian.

The Sum of *Laud*'s Charge was, that he traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom of *England*; and, inſtead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary Government.

After ſeveral Meſſages, Propoſitions, and Anſwers, betwixt the King and Parliament, it was agreed, that Commiſſioners of both Parties ſhould meet at *Uxbridge* to treat about a Peace; and that the Propoſitions,

1464. as well on the King's as the Parliament's Side, ſhould be reduced to theſe three Heads, Religion, the Militia, and *Ireland*.

It evidently appears by the Propoſitions given in by the Parliament, that they meant to leave the King only an empty Title, and inveſt themſelves with the Sovereignty; and that not by Artifice, but openly and publickly, and which the King was either to embrace or reject: for their Determination was not to depart from what they propoſed. It is certain then it was not properly with Deſign to make Peace, that the two Houſes ſent their Commiſſioners to *Uxbridge*: Their ſole View was, to let their Party ſee they were determined to ſtand by the Alterations they had made in Religion, and the Eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterianiſm.

The King, on his Part, was no more inclined to ſeek Expedients for Peace than the two Houſes: For tho' he had conſented to treat upon the Parliament's Propoſitions, he was, however, reſolved never to conſent to the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, or Diminution of the Regal Authority. In a word, each Party ſought only to amuſe the People, and gain thereby more Strength: So, after ſeveral fruitleſs Debates, the Conferences at *Uxbridge* broke off, upon the Expiration of 20 Days.

It will be proper here to ſhew, that the Preſbyterians, till this Time, ſeemed to make but one and the ſame Party; yet, in reality, they conſiſted of two, very different

ferent from each other, both in Principles and Intereſt. It is the Independents, called at firſt *Congregationaliſts*, whoſe Riſe came now moſt plainly to be diſcovered. They addreſſed the Parliament with an apologetical Narrative for Indiſturbance and Toleration. In this Apology they declare, that they conſulted the Scriptures, without any Prepoſſeſſion. They look upon the Word of Chriſt as impartially and unprejudicedly as Men of Fleſh and Blood are like to do in any Juncture of Time, they having no Temptation to any Bias. As to Church Government, they ſaid they confined themſelves to Scripture Precept and Precedent, leaving Room for Alterations upon further Enquiry. Purſuant to theſe Grounds, they held a middle Courſe between Preſbytery and *Browniſm*. The firſt they counted too arbitrary; the other too looſe. 1644.

Their main Characteriſtick was the diſallowing Parochial and Provincial Subordinations, and forming all their Congregations upon a Scheme of Co-ordinacy. As to the Manner of their Service, they prayed publickly for Kings, and all in Authority: They read the Scriptures, and expounded the Leſſons upon proper Occaſions: They adminiſtered the Sacraments: They ſung Pſalms, and made Collections for the Poor every Lord's Day. As for Church Cenſures, they had none but Admonition and Excommunication.

Theſe Independents were for eſtabliſhing

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1644. a Commonwealth, tho' neither the *English* nor *Scots* Presbyterians had any Inclination to establish one: They judged it therefore absolutely necessary to undermine the great Power of the Presbyterians; not openly, but secretly, and by Artifice. To that Purpose the Leaders of this Party, as *Vane*, *Cromwell*, *Tate*, *Hasterig*, and some others, began to make themselves very popular, and express great Zeal for the Publick, in order to gain the Good-will of the People.

Cromwell came to the Parliament at the Close of the Campaign, and publickly accused the Earl of *Manchester* of not having done his Duty at the Battle of *Newbury*. The Earl answered by a Memorial, which he presented to the Lords; and *Cromwell* thought not fit to prosecute his Accusation, which was properly a Preparative only to begin the Execution of a greater Project.

This Project was, to exclude all the Members of Parliament from enjoying any Office or Command, Military or Civil.

It had been the Practice, that all the principal Posts were possessed by the Members of one or other House: And such of the Members that had Posts in the Army, had so great Influence there, that no Man durst oppose their Sentiments, nor take Notice of their Faults and Misdemeanors; which, by that Means, always escaped unpunished. This is what, at length, begot great Dissentions between the Generals, which proved so prejudicial to the common Cause.

Ano-

Another Inconveniency arofe; as it was the Intereft of thefe Members to prolong the War, to continue them in their Employ, it was looked upon by the People as an Oppreffion to the Publick. 1645.

Yet this Alteration was of great Advantage to the Independents; for they had fo well laid their Scheme, that they were almoft fure the Pofts that became vacant would be filled with Men of their Party: and this was more likely, becaufe hitherto the Independents had not pulled off the Mafk.

Thefe Things were moved in the Houfe of Commons at the Time when Preparations were making for the Treaty of *Uxbridge*. They who were Managers of Affairs, moved to take into Confideration the Condition of the Kingdom, the Reafons why the War lafted fo long, and the Confequences of the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, in cafe it fhould not fucceed. This Motion being approved of, the Houfe voted themfelves into a grand Committee to debate upon thefe Points. *Cromwell* made a Speech, and was feconded by others.

This Motion was debated long; and, at length, approved of by a Plurality of Voices, and an Ordinance drawn up, that no Member was to enjoy any Military Pofts; and alfo for a new Model of the Army. This was called *The Self-denying Ordinance*; becaufe the Houfe, in paffing it, renounced their own Advantages.

The Concurrence of the Lords to this Or-

1645. Ordinance was solicited by the whole House of Commons; but they rejected it.

Notwithstanding this, the Commons went on in forming a new Model of the Army, which they voted should consist in the whole of 21,000 Men; after that they appointed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General.

At last it being intimated to the Lords, that the Commons would go on without their Concurrence, after several Conferences they approved of the List; and also passed the Self-denying Ordinance.

In the new modeling of the Army, *Cromwell*, who had gained an Influence over the new General, ordered it so, that the Officers whom the Independents thought they could confide in, kept their Commissions, excepting Members of Parliament.

As their Designs could not be executed but by the King's Destruction, they saw it was absolutely necessary to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having received his Commission from the Parliament, went to *Windsor*, his Head Quarters, and from thence sent out Commissioners wherever there were Troops, to form the new Regiments, and disband the supernumerary Officers. Private Instructions were given to these Commissioners, framed by *Cromwell*.

During the General's Stay at *Windsor*, he received a Letter from the Committee of both Kingdoms, (from whom the Parliament's Army was generally to receive its Or-

Orders) informing him, that the King had sent to Prince *Rupert* to come and join him with 2000 Horse; therefore he was ordered to dispatch a Party of Horse towards *Oxford*, to hinder this Junction. 1645.

The Charge of this Service was, by the Committee, particularly recommended to Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*.

Cromwell departing from *Windsor* the 24th *April*, met, near *Islip-Bridge*, with a Brigade of the King's Horse, consisting of the Queen's, and three other Regiments, and utterly routed them. Then he marched to Sir *Thomas Coggin*'s House, at *Blechington*, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garrison for the King, and summoned the Colonel with a sharp Message, who immediately surrendered. The King was so full of Indignation at his Cowardice, that he caused him to be condemn'd by a Council of War, and afterwards shot to Death.

Taunton being close besieged by Sir *Richard Greenville*, and in great Distress, the Parliament sent Orders to the General to march and raise the Siege.

While the General was on his March, the Committee having received Advice, that the King was putting himself at the Head of his Army, ordered the General back, who detached Colonel *Weldon*, with 3000 Foot and 1500 Horse, to go to *Taunton*. Upon his Approach *Greenville* raised the Siege; but *Greenville* afterwards joining with General *Goring*, laid Siege a second Time to *Taunton*,

1645. *ton*, where the Party that had relieved the Town was ſhut up.

The King took the Field the 7th of *May*, and marched towards *Cheſter* to relieve the Place, being beſieged by Sir *William Brereton*; but hearing the Siege was raiſed, he marched to *Leiceſter*, which he took by Storm the 30th of *May*.

The Parliament, upon this, ſent Orders to General *Fairfax* to purſue the King. So *Fairfax* marched; and ſeeing it was likely that a Battle would enſue, writ to the Parliament, to deſire that *Cromwell* might be ordered to march to the Army, and command the Horſe; which was readily granted. Thus *Cromwell*, who was the forwardeſt to paſs the Ordinance, was the only Perſon that kept his Seat in Parliament, and his Command in the Army.

The King having received Advice, that *Fairfax* was drawn off from before *Oxford*, which he had beſieged, and had been repulſed with great Loſs i n Aſſault upon *Borſtal-houſe*, that News the King's Troops with ſuch Courage, hat the King reſolved to give them Battle efore they recovered Heart.

Fairfax having likewiſe taken a Reſolution to fight, advanced towards the King; who having received better Information of the Number and Deſign of his Enemies, reſolved to retire to *Leiceſter*. To that purpoſe he began to march towards *Harborough*, where his Van arrived, whilſt the reſt of his Army

was

was above two Miles behind. That ſame 1645.
Night he heard, that his Enemies were within ſix Miles of *Harborough*; and indeed General *Ireton*, *Cromwell*'s Son-in-law, had now fallen into ſome of the King's Quarters, and taken ſeveral Priſoners: Whereupon it was reſolved, in a Council of War held in the Night, to march back to meet the Enemy, conſidering the Impoſſibility of going on to *Leiceſter*, without expoſing the Rear to certain Deſtruction: So the King marching back in the Morning on the 14th of *June*, met the Parliamentarians, who, upon News of his March, had drawn up near *Naſeby*. Here was fought the bloody Battle that decided the Quarrel.

Prince *Rupert* commanded the Right Wing of the King's Army, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left. Sir *Jacob Aſtley* led up the main Body of the Foot; and the King was at the Head of the Reſerve of the Horſe.

On the Parliament's Side the Right Wing of the Horſe was commanded by *Cromwell*; the Left by *Ireton*. General *Fairfax*, and Major-General *Skippon*, were both at the Head of the main Body; the firſt on the Right, and the other on the Left.

Prince *Rupert* began with charging the Left Wing commanded by *Ireton*; and, after a long Conflict, wherein he met with great Reſiſtance, he broke that Body of Horſe, put them to Flight, and chaſed them almoſt to *Naſeby* Town.

1645. At the ſame Time *Cromwell* was engaged in a very fierce Encounter with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; but, at length, the King's Horſe took to Flight, and were purſued about a Quarter of a Mile.

The Parliament's Foot were engaged with the King's, and began to be preſſed in ſuch a Manner, that they were in great Diſorder. *Cromwell*, who was come back victorious, gave a new Turn to the Battle, by charging the King's Infantry in Flank, who could not ſtand ſo vigorous an Attack. *Fairfax* and *Skippon* took Advantage of this Aid, to put their Troops in Order again; and, at laſt, the King's Foot were routed in ſuch a Manner, that there was no Probability of rallying them.

As ſoon as Prince *Rupert* came back with his victorious Horſe, and had joined the Body of Reſerve, the King did all he could to perſuade them to charge again thoſe of the Enemy; but they would not: for *Fairfax*, *Skippon*, and *Cromwell*, without loſing Time in purſuing the King's Infantry, (diſperſed about the Field, and unable to rally) had drawn up their Troops again without Delay. They faced the King's Horſe, and prepared to receive or charge them. Thus to renew the Fight, the King muſt, with one ſingle Wing of Horſe, and his ſmall Body of Reſerve, have fallen upon the Enemy's Army, which wanted only the Wing that was routed; but they would not obey the

the King's Order under ſuch manifeſt Danger. 1645.

The Earl of *Carnwath* ſeeing the King bent upon charging the Enemy, rode up to him, and ſaid, *Sir, will you go upon your Death in an Inſtant?* And, laying hold on the King's Bridle, turned his Horſe to the Right. The King's Cavalry ſeeing his Majeſty's Horſe turned, without knowing the Cauſe, took occaſion to diſband, and rode upon the Spur, without looking behind: So the King was forced to retire likewiſe, and leave his Enemies Maſter of the Field.

The King loſt his whole Train of Artillery, all his Bag and Baggage, with his Cabinet, wherein his moſt ſecret Papers were; which the Parliament were ſo cruel as to print and publiſh, particularly his Letters about the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. After this he was never able to bring a conſiderable Army into the Field.

There were not ſlain on the King's Side above 600 Men; but amongſt them were more than 150 Officers; and, beſides, the Enemy took above 5000 Priſoners.

The King retired into *Wales*, and made ſome Stay at *Ragland* Caſtle, not deſpairing of being able to form another Army in thoſe Parts. Prince *Rupert* made haſte to *Briſtol*, that he might put the City into a Condition to maintain a Siege.

Mean while *Fairfax* advanced towards *Leiceſter*, which ſurrendered upon Terms four Days after the Battle of *Naſeby*. Then he

1645. he marched into the Weſt, as well to relieve *Taunton* and the Party there ſhut up, as to reduce to the Obedience of the Parliament the Weſtern Counties.

Upon the Approach of the Army, *Goring* raiſed the Siege of *Taunton*; and, in a few Days after, was defeated by *Fairfax* at *Langport*, who killed many of his Men, took 1200 Horſes, and made 1400 Priſoners. This Victory was followed with the taking of *Bridgewater*, *Bath*, and *Sherburn*. After which *Fairfax* laid Siege to *Briſtol*.

Prince *Rupert* was expected, according to Cuſtom, to perform Wonders in the Defence of this City, and had writ to the King, that he hoped to hold out at leaſt four Months; yet the Parliament's Army having approached the Lines that were drawn about the Place, and repulſed ſeveral Sallies, the Prince, upon the firſt Summons, agreed to capitulate. When the King heard this, he was ſo enraged, that he ordered *Rupert* to depart the Kingdom, and revoked all his Commiſſions.

The Prince publiſhed a Manifeſto in Vindication of his Conduct; but he did not ſufficiently make appear, that he was under a Neceſſity to deliver up ſo ſoon a Place of ſuch Importance.

Fairfax then marched again into the Weſt to relieve *Plymouth*, which was ſtill blocked up; and *Cromwell* ſat down before the Caſtle of the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, ſituated in the Road of Traffick between *London* and the

the Western Counties, to secure a Communication to *London*. 1645.

Cromwell, after this, marched to *Winchester*, and took the City and Castle upon Articles. A Complaint being made by some of the Garrison, that they were plundered at their marching out, *Cromwell* caused the Offenders to be condemned to die.

After this, *Cromwell* took by Storm, *Basing*, the House of the Marquis of *Winchester*: He took also *Langford-house*; and *Fairfax* took *Tiverton*, and went and blocked up *Exeter*, till it could be besieged in Form. He also took *Dartmouth* by Storm; the Season not allowing him to besiege it in Form.

General *Göring* having withdrawn into *France*, the Prince of *Wales* gave the Command of his Army to the Lord *Hopton*, who lay intrenched in *Torrington*. *Fairfax* resolved to attack them, and advanced within a Mile of *Torrington*, and possessed himself of some Posts, with Design to engage on the Morrow.

Hopton's Troops finding this, attempted to dislodge the Parliamentarians in the Night: And the Battle thus began insensibly, and held almost the whole Night. In short, after fighting a long while in the Dark, the Lord *Hopton*'s Intrenchments were forced, and he was obliged to retire: All his Infantry were slain or taken, or so dispersed, that they could not join him again. So he retired into *Cornwall* with his Horse, and 4 or 5000 Foot: But *Fairfax* pursued him

and

1645. and hemmed him in on every Side, so as he was obliged to capitulate. The Prince of *Wales*, to secure his Person, retired into *Scilly*, where he safely arrived; as did also the Lord *Hopton* and *Culpepper*. *Fairfax* returned before *Exeter*, which was surrender'd upon Articles. Thus *Fairfax* ended his western Expedition, which could not be more glorious for him, or more advantageous for the Parliament; since the King had neither Towns nor Forces left in the Country.

The *Scots* Army having taken *Newcastle*, went and besieged *Carlisle*, which surrender'd upon Articles. Then they went and besieged *Hereford*, but in vain; afterwards *Pomfret* Castle and *Scarborough* surrender'd upon Articles; and the *Scots* began the Siege of *Newark*, having first agreed with the Parliament for 1400 *l.* a Week.

The King left *Wales*, and got to *Litchfield*; afterwards took *Huntingdon*, where he met with good Booty; then went to *Oxford*, where the Day before died the Lord Keeper *Littleton*: After this the King went to *Hereford*, the *Scots* having raised the Siege. Then he marched to relieve *Chester*, this Place being of great Importance to him for landing some Troops at, which he expected from *Ireland*.

Major-General *Pointz*, whom the Parliament had ordered to watch the Motions of the King with about 2000 Horse, overtook the King on *Routon-heath*, within two Miles of *Chester*, which obliged him to face about.

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The Fight at firſt was pretty obſtinate; but as the King had 5000 to 2000 Men, *Pointz* was briſkly repulſed, and put into great Diſorder. 1645.

Jones and *Louthian* came from *Cheſter* with 800 Men, and falling upon the King's Rear, forced them to turn againſt them. This gave *Pointz* Time to rally his Men, and to charge the King's Army; who finding themſelves at once attacked before and behind, were in the End utterly routed. The King with great Difficulty got into *Wales* with the broken Remains of his Army; at laſt the King went to *Oxford*, there being no other Remedy left but to make Peace with the Parliament.

But this Peace was not eaſy to be made. The King would have freely granted, in the preſent Situation of his Affairs, ſomething of what he had before refuſed. The Parliament were willing to make Peace like Conquerors, and increaſed the Terms inſtead of making them more tolerable. The two main Points were the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, and ſufficient Security for the Performance of his Promiſes.

Mean while the King's Friends at *London* made him hope, that the Diſſentions between the Preſbyterians and Independants might turn to his Advantage, if he could but get leave to come to *London*, and treat in Perſon. In this Belief he demanded a Safe-conduct of the two Houſes, for the Duke of *Richmond*, and ſome others, to bring Propoſitions from

1645. from him. Some Days after he renewed his Demand, and having no Anſwer, ſent them a third Meſſage; which was, to have a Safe-conduct for 40 Days, to come and treat at *London* in Perſon about a Peace.

The Parliament refuſed a Safe-conduct; but ſaid in their Anſwer, that the two Houſes had under Conſideration Propoſitions and Bills for the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, which ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty.

After ſeveral Meſſages and Anſwers, in order to obtain a Safe-conduct, and ſeveral Propoſitions for Peace, the Negotiation had no other Effect than to leave his Affairs juſt as they were before.

Both Houſes reproached the King with endeavouring to bring a Body of *Iriſh* into *England*. The King had made a Ceſſation with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and ſent for the *Engliſh* Troops then in *Ireland*.

The King alſo ſent the Earl of *Glamorgan* with Power to conclude a Peace ſecretly with *Ireland*. He granted them, on the King's Behalf, all their Demands, on Condition, they would furniſh him with a Body of 10,000 Men, under the Command of the ſame Earl.

By this ſecret Treaty, the Confederate Roman Catholicks in *Ireland* were to enjoy the free and publick Uſe and Exerciſe of their Religion, and to hold and enjoy all the Churches by them enjoyed within that Kingdom ſince *October* 1641, and be exempt from the

the Jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy. 1646.
Upon this 10,000 Men were to be sent to serve his Majesty, one Half with Muskets, the other with Pikes.

This secret Treaty being discovered by the Parliament, the Expedient to clear the King was, to arrest the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and charge him with having the Boldness to go beyond his Orders.

The Court of *France* sent *Montreuil* into *England*, to endeavour to bring about a private Accommodation between the King and the *Scots*: At the same Time the Queen sent to persuade the King to side with the Presbyterians, as the only Means to free him from the sad Condition he was in; but the Zeal he had for Episcopacy would not let him accept of any such Overture, so he utterly refused to give his Consent to it.

The *Scots* Army being now before *Newark*, *Fairfax* was advancing with all Speed to inclose the King in *Oxford*. The King's main Concern was then to deliver himself from this Danger, and at last he resolved to go to the *Scots* Army: But upon what Conditions they received him is not known, tho' the King in a Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond* said, that he had received very good Security that the *Scots* would declare for him; and the *Scots* Commissioners denied that their Army had made any Treaty with the King to assist him. However this be, the King went to their Army the 4th of *May*.

1646. The *Scots* General reprefented to the King, that it would be proper, for the Safety of his Perfon, that the Army fhould march Northward, in order to be near the Borders of *Scotland*. But this could not be done before the taking of *Newark*; fo the King ordered the Governor to furrender the Town, which was done accordingly.

Immediately after the Army began to march, and came to *Newcaftle*, bringing the King along with them.

While the King was at *Newcaftle*, he fent feveral Meffages to the Parliament, preffing the two Houfes to fend Propofitions for Peace, and that he would give all juft Satisfaction; and defired again the Liberty to come to *London* and treat in Perfon with them.

The *Scots* Army hearing it was reported at *London* that they had made a Treaty with the King, publifhed a Declaration, protefting that it was always their Intention to maintain the Covenant between the two Kingdoms; and that they abhorred all publick and private Ways tending to violate the fame.

July 6th, The Houfe of Commons voted, that *England* had no further Need of the *Scots* Army, and that the Commiffioners of *Scotland* fhould be defired to withdraw their Forces.

Some Days after the two Houfes fent the Propofitions for Peace to the King at *Newcaftle*; which were much the fame with thofe that had been debated at *Uxbridge*, with

fome

ſome Additions, ſtill tending to the leſſening 1646.
of the King's Power.

The King returned a general Anſwer, deſiring Liberty to come to *London*; that all Doubts and Difficulties might be explained, debated, and fully ſettled, according to the Laws of God and the Land.

Before the King delivered his Anſwer, the Earl of *Loudon*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, made a Speech to him, to perſuade him to accept the Propoſitions, ſeeing the great Neceſſity he was in; but his Majeſty did not take his Advice.

A little after the King's coming to *Newcaſtle*, a *Scots* Miniſter, after his Sermon, called for *Pſalm* 52d, which begins, *Why doſt thou, Tyrant, boaſt thyſelf, thy wicked Works to praiſe.* Whereupon the King ſtood up and called for the 56 *Pſalm*, which begins, *Have Mercy, Lord, on me I pray, for Men would me devour.* The People waved the Miniſter's *Pſalm*, and ſung that which the King called for.

Some Days after the Houſes had voted they had no further Need of the *Scots*, their Commiſſioners delivered an Account to the Parliament of the Arrears due to them, amounting to 2,000,000 *l.* There were great Debates about what was due, but at laſt it was ſettled at 400,000 *l.* one Half to be paid upon their leaving *England*, the other at certain Times.

This is the fatal Bargain, whereby, it is pretended, the *Scots* ſold the King to the Par-

1646. Parliament of *England*; becaufe, indeed, they delivered him up fome Months after. But this is bare Conjecture, fince no Proof of this ever came to the Knowledge of the Publick.

At laft, the King being fo very much folicited to confent to the Propofitions, he agreed that Presbyterian Government fhould be eftablifhed throughout the whole Kingdom, a few Diocefes excepted, namely, *Oxford*, *Winchefter*, *Briftol*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Exeter*, with the ftricteft Claufes againft Papifts and Independents. But this was not agreed to by the Parliament.

September 18th, It was voted, that the King's Perfon fhould be difpofed of as both Houfes fhould think fit: But as he was not properly in their Power, they appointed a Committee to confer with the Commiffioners of *Scotland* upon that Head.

After many Debates, it was voted by both Houfes, and confented to by the *Scots* Commiffioners (after receiving another Meffage from the King, defiring to come to *London*, upon the publick Faith and Security of his Parliament, and the *Scots* Commiffioners, that he fhould be there with Honour, Freedom, and Safety) that his Majefty fhould come to *Holmby-houfe*, in *Northamptonfhire*; and that his coming there fhould be, with refpect to the Safety and Prefervation of his Majefty's Perfon, and in Defence of the true Religion, according to the Covenant.

The

The 5th of *January*, 1646-7. a Committee of both Houses was appointed to go down and receive the King from the *Scots*: and tho' both Houses had declared he should be at *Holmby* with Honour and Safety, they meant not to leave the Manner to his Choice; and what Expressions soever, they might use, it was to be, in effect, a real Imprisonment. The King, however, was delivered to the Parliament's Commissioners, and arrived at *Holmby* the 16th of *February*. 1647.

The Presbyterians and Independents had thus far gone Hand-in-hand, because it was equally advantageous to them to have it out of the King's Power to hurt either; but now they began to fall at open Variance. The Presbyterians were superior in the Parliament, and in *London*: But the Independents were in a Manner Masters of the Army. *Oliver Cromwell*, a Person of uncommon Valour, great Parts, and profound Dissimulation, was then the Head of the Independents; though he affected still to pass for a rigid Presbyterian.

The Parliament had resolved to disband the Army in *England*, and send Regiments into *Ireland*. *Cromwell* being in the House, and hearing all, seemingly approved of it; and, at the same Time, by his Emissaries in the Army, spirited up the Soldiers, and inspired them with Discontent against the two Houses.

The first Spark of this Flame broke out in *March* 1647. The Commons had Notice,

1647. tice, that ſome Officers of the Army had prepared a Petition to be preferred to the Houſe. The Articles deſired were, Indemnity for Actions as Soldiers; Satisfaction for Arrears; no preſſing for Horſe or Foot; Relief of Widows and maimed Soldiers; Pay till disbanded.

The Commons ſent an Order to the General to make ſtrict Enquiry after the Authors of this Petition; and alſo to publiſh a Declaration, at the Head of every Regiment, importing, that the Petition tended to the putting the Army into a Mutiny, and obſtructing the Relief of *Ireland*; and that the Promoters thereof ſhould be proceeded againſt as Enemies to the State, and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace.

The Officers and Soldiers complained openly of this, that they who had fought for the Liberty of the Subjects of *England*, were denied the Liberty of the Subject, to petition.

Mean time the two Houſes appointed a Committee to form the Regiments that were to go to *Ireland*; but when the Committee came to the Army, they found the Soldiers unwilling to ſerve but under the Command of *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, and *Skippon*: and at laſt their Boldneſs went ſo far, that ſome of the principal Officers ſcrupled not to appear at the Head of the Mutineers in a Declaration, which was preſented to both Houſes, to the Purport before mentioned in the Petition.

This

This Declaration was ſigned by *Thomas Hammond*, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, ſeven Colonels, ſeven Lieutenant Colonels, ſix Majors, and 130 Officers, Captains and Subalterns. 1647.

The ſame Day this Declaration was read in the Houſe, the Commons voted, that the Army ſhould be diſbanded, and the Soldiers have ſix Weeks Pay when they were diſmiſſed; and at the ſame Time the Houſe ordered *Skippon*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and *Fleetwood*, to go to the Army, and acquaint them with what the Houſe intended to do for them.

Theſe Generals having informed the Officers, the Troopers and Soldiers inſiſted, that as the Mátter in hand concerned the whole Army, the ſame ſhould be conſidered in common. To this End, the Soldiers choſe two out of every Company, who were called *Agitators*, to confer together about Matters that were to be brought to the Council of Officers, called the Council of War, conſiſting of Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, and Captains. The two Councils were continued afterwards, to the great Prejudice of the Parliament.

The Army openly complained of the Intention to put them off with two Months Pay only, upon diſbanding; when there was no leſs than 56 Weeks Pay due to them.

The Independents were at the Bottom of this Commotion; and this was the critical Sea-

1647. Season to know, whether they or the Parliament should be Master.

The Army had now resolved to carry away the King by Force to *Newmarket*; and, to execute this Design, they pitched upon one *Joyce*, a Cornet, who was formerly a Taylor, but had signalized himself for his Bravery. *Joyce*, being put at the Head of a Detachment of 50 Horse, marched directly to *Holmby*; and came there in the Night, after the King was in Bed. Having secured the Avenues, he went up, with two or three more, to the King's Chamber, and caused the Door to be opened. The King getting up, asked him what he meant. *Joyce* answered, he intended to carry him to the Army. The King asked him, whether he had the Generals Orders. He answered, no; but held a Pistol in his Hand, and said, it was by that he was chiefly empowered. The King's Guard refused to make any Resistance; so *Joyce* carried him in a Coach to *Newmarket*.

The Officers and Soldiers subscribed a Paper, which they called a *Solemn Engagement*; whereby they consented to disband, when required by the Parliament: but on Condition, That they should first have such Satisfaction, in relation to their Grievances, as should be agreed unto by a Council, to consist of those General Officers who had concurred with the Army, with two Commission Officers, and two Soldiers, to be

chosen

chosen for each Regiment; and that they 1647.
would not be disbanded upon other Terms.

This Engagement was backed with Petitions from the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, intreating the General not to suffer the Army to be disbanded, till every Thing relating to the Government was settled.

The Commons, seeing the Army Master of the King's Person, and that they would not be disbanded, confirmed the Self-denying Ordinance; and declared to be void all Places held by Members of Parliament.

Nevertheless, the Army began their March, and advanced as far as St *Albans*, within 20 Miles of *London*. At the same time the General sent to both Houses the Result of the late Council of War; and intreated them to think of some Way to satisfy the Troops.

The Approach of the Army threw the Parliament and City into a great Consternation; and an Ordinance was passed, to enable the Committee of the Militia of *London* to raise Horses. As they seemed to put themselves into a Posture of Defence against the Army, the General and other Officers sent a Letter to the City, complaining that certain Members of Parliament endeavoured to engage the Kingdom in a new War: that they desired no Alteration in the Civil Government; nor in the least to hinder the settling of Presbyterianism: and that if the City should be seduced to take up Arms a-

1647. gainſt the Army, Ruin and Deſtruction would enſue.

The Common Council of *London* writ to the General and Officers, that the City intended no Evil to the Army; but only to defend the Parliament and themſelves againſt unlawful Violence: and that they did not intend to hinder the Army from obtaining their juſt Demands.

When the Army found the Parliament gave way, and wanted Power or Reſolution, they advanced a Step further; and by a Declaration, preſented to both Houſes, enlarged in their Demands (and now it plainly appeared they wanted to have a Share in the Civil Government); and deputed Officers to carry in their Name, to the Parliament, a Charge againſt eleven Members; and that theſe, by them impeached, might be forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe.

The Army, having other Views than to receive Satisfaction, ſtill increaſed their Demands; and *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who were both bred at the Inns of Court, took Care to pen all their Declarations and Demands in a Way ſuitable to bring their Ends about.

The Commons voted, that, by Law, no Judgment could be given to ſuſpend the eleven Members till proper Proofs were made againſt them. But an Expedient was found out to ſoften this Refuſal; which was, that the Parties accuſed ſhould, of their own accord, deſire Leave to abſent themſelves from the Houſe; and accordingly they withdrew:

drew: and the Parliament voted, to satisfy the Army in their Demands; upon which the Army went to *Wickham*. 1647.

While the Parliament was endeavouring to content the Army, a Plot was contriving at *London*, to compel the two Houses to take other Measures, and oppose the Army. The Presbyterians were not pleased to see the Independents gain so much Ground. The Authors of this Plot had even sent private Letters to *Scotland*, to desire Assistance.

Further, the rigid Presbyterians, backed with the Common-Council of *London*, entered into an Engagement to stand one by another, and oppose the Army: And the young Men, and Apprentices, Seamen, and Watermen, of *London* and *Westminster*, joined in this League. After this the Parliament voted, that the King should come to *London*, in Safety, and settle a happy and speedy Peace.

The Commons voted, that the eleven accused Members should be received into the House; and most of them came the next Day and took their Places. The two Houses also published an Ordinance, enabling the Committee of the Militia of *London*, to punish such as did not repair to their Colours; and to chuse a Major-General, or any other Officer, for the Forces raised or to be raised within the City of *London*; and *Massey*, *Waller*, and *Pointz*, were busy in forming Regiments and Companies.

The

1647. The two Speakers of the Houses, and 66 Members who had absented themselves, came to the General of the Army, desiring his Protection, saying they were afraid of being torn in Pieces by the Mob. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Army than this Request; it furnish'd them with a Pretence to march to *London*, to re-instate these Members.

After several Messages had passed between *Fairfax* the General of the Army, and the Common-Council of *London*, they consented that the General should restore the Members to their Seats in Parliament: and accordingly the General came to *Westminster*, with some Regiments of Horse; and the Speakers of the two Houses, and the rest of the Members, repaired to their respective Houses.

Immediately the House of Peers passed an Ordinance, for making *Fairfax* Constable of the Tower, with Power to name a Deputy; to which the Commons consented. And a Day of Thanksgiving to God was appointed, for restoring the Members without Effusion of Blood; and that a Gratuity of a Month's Pay should be given to the Officers and Soldiers for this great Service.

The King, all this while, had great Civility shewn him by *Cromwell*; tho' this was only the Effects of his Policy, fearing the Parliament, under their present Circumstances, might declare for him. He even put him in Hopes of being restored; but it

was

was ſtill with this Reſtriction, when the Affairs of the Government ſhould be fully ſettled, that is to ſay, in the Manner *Cromwell* and his Party deſired. The King was deceived by this Policy ; for as he ſaw himſelf courted by both Parties, he imagined they could not do without him ; and that he ſhould be in a Condition to incline the Scale to which Side he pleaſed. 1647.

But the Army was no ſooner Maſter of the Parliament and City, than the King ſaw himſelf not only neglected, but even treated more hardly than hitherto : The ſame Reſpect was no longer paid him ; and his Guards would ſcarce ſuffer his Servants to confer with him in private. He was carried to *Hampton-Court*, and there left as almoſt forgotten.

The Army began at length to pretend to a Right of ſettling the Government of the Kingdom with the Parliament : they nominated Commiſſioners to treat upon that Subject with thoſe of the Parliament ; and the General delivered Propoſitions for that Purpoſe.

It was only to ſee, by theſe Propoſitions, that the Independents had a-mind to be uppermoſt, as they were at length ; and all their Proceedings, though cloaked with Pretences for the Publick Good, tended only to that End : And the Deſign of the Preſbyterians, Parliament, and City of *London*, was to ruin the Independent Party, and the Army, their Supporters : but as they were not

1647. not ſtrong enough to bring this about, their Project was to join with the King and *Scotland*, provided they could prevail with his Majeſty to aboliſh Epiſcopacy. This is what was ſecretly contriving at *London* and *Edinburgh*, whilſt Endeavours were uſing to amuſe the Army by ſtudied Delays on their Demands.

The Reſpect ſhewn the King was now ſhrunk to ſuch a Degree, that it was eaſy for him to perceive he was to expect no Good from the Army; and that *Cromwell* had only amuſed him, the better to carry on his own Views. He was apprehenſive, that the Army would aſſaſſinate, or poiſon him, in order to free themſelves from the Fear of his agreeing with the Preſbyterians. Major *Huntington*, who had been employed by *Cromwell* to amuſe the King with ſeveral private Meſſages, finding, at length, he had been made the Inſtrument to deceive that unfortunate Prince, warned him that *Cromwell* was not ſincere, and would deſtroy him if he was not prevented. Shortly after he threw up his Commiſſion, and after his quitting the Service, offer'd to diſcover to the Parliament *Cromwell*'s ill Practices; but they would not hearken to him: At laſt the King received Notice every Day, that his Enemies had ill Deſigns upon him.

Theſe Things made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the King, that he reſolved to make his Eſcape, if poſſible. This Reſolution being taken, he withdrew very early to his Chamber,

ber, feigning to be indiſpoſed; and about One o'Clock in the Morning, went out by the Back-ſtairs, and came with *Aſhburnham* and *Legg* to the Garden Gate, where *Berkley* waited with Horſes. They rid all Night with great Speed. In the Morning the King aſked *Aſhburnham*, where the Ship lay? *Aſhburnham* riding away before, as it were to get Information, returned, without any News of the Ship: with which the King ſeem'd very uneaſy; for he intended to have left the Kingdom directly. At laſt he went to *Titchfield*, a Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*'s, where the Earl's Mother lived with a ſmall Family. There he conſulted with his three Attendants, whither he ſhould go? *Aſhburnham* adviſed him to retire to the *Iſle of Wight*, and put himſelf into the Hands of Colonel *Hammond*, the Governor. He muſt have known that *Hammond* was *Cromwell*'s Creature. However, *Aſhburnham* and *Berkley* went to the *Iſle of Wight*, after the King had conſented to talk with *Hammond*, who promiſed to do the King what Service he could: But when he was deſired to promiſe, that he would not deliver him up to the Parliament or Army; he anſwered, that as he was an Inferior Officer, he could not promiſe to diſobey his Superiors. As he could not get an abſolute Promiſe, they got *Hammond* to go to the King; and *Aſhburnham* went up to the King's Chamber to acquaint him, that *Hammond* was in the Houſe, but had not made any Promiſe; where- 1647.

1647. whereupon the King cried out, *O Jack, thou haſt undone me!* With which *Aſhburnham* falling a-weeping, offered to go down and kill *Hammond*; but the King would not conſent to it, but ſent for *Hammond* up. The King endeavoured to perſuade him to promiſe; but he kept to his firſt Anſwer; notwithſtanding the King reſolved to go with him, and was conducted to *Cariſbrook* Caſtle.

This Conduct of *Aſhburnham*'s has occaſion'd him to be ſuſpected of having an Intent to betray the King; but the Reader may give his own Sentiments as to what has been ſaid. When the King made his Eſcape, he left two Letters upon his Table, one for the Parliament, another for the Army, purporting, "That Liberty being at all Times the "Aim and Deſire of all Men, he had endeavoured to obtain his; but ſhould earneſtly and inceſſantly endeavour the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace; "and that he deſired to be heard with Freedom, Honour, and Safety; and then he "would inſtantly break through his Cloud "of Retirement, and ſhew himſelf ready to "be *Pater Patriæ.*"

On the 15th of *November* the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, received a Letter from Colonel *Hammond*, informing him, that the King, from an Apprehenſion of his Life's being in Danger at *Hampton-Court*, was come into the *Iſle of Wight*, to put himſelf under his Protection.

At

At this Time a new Faction ſprung in the Army, called *Levellers*; that is to ſay, Men who declared, that all Degrees of Perſons ſhould be levelled, and an Equality eſtabliſhed both in Titles and Eſtates throughout the Kingdom. This Faction was grown ſo ſtrong, that they began to make the General Officers, and particularly *Cromwell*, very uneaſy. They conſiſted of Soldiers and Agitators, and had their Aſſemblies, and Conferences, in ſpite of their Officers, and the General's Orders. At laſt the Inſolence of theſe Men being grown to a monſtrous Height, *Cromwell* undertook, with the Hazard of his Life, to free the Army and Parliament from them. To that End having Notice, that the Levellers were to meet at a certain Place, he came thither unexpectedly, attended with a choſen Guard; and aſking ſome Queſtions of thoſe whom he obſerved moſt active, and receiving inſolent Anſwers, knocked down two or three with his own Hand; and briſkly charging the reſt, diſperſed them ſo, that he took ſuch a Number of them as he thought fit, whereof he cauſed ſome to be hanged on the Spot, and ſent others to *London*. By two or three ſuch notable Encounters he totally ſubdued that Party. 1647.

The King ſent another Letter to both Houſes, wherein he made new Propoſals for a Peace, and in a manner agreed to every thing the Parliament required, but that to to be limited to his Reign only; after which all Power to return to the Crown, as was in

1647. the Times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*; and he earneſtly deſired a perſonal Treaty at *London* with his two Houſes, in Honour, Freedom and Safety.

The Commons took no Notice of this Letter: But the Lords, in a Conference with the Commons, got them to agree to admit him to a perſonal Treaty, on condition he would give his Aſſent to four Preliminary Propoſitions to be paſſed into Acts, before the reſt were begun to be treated upon; which were as follows:

I. An Act for ſettling the Militia of the Kingdom.

II. An Act for calling in all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations againſt the Parliament, and thoſe who adhered to them.

III. An Act that thoſe Lords, who were made after the Great Seal was carried to *Oxford*, may be made uncapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers.

IV. An Act for impowering the two Houſes of Parliament to adjourn as they ſhall think fit.

Theſe Bills were paſſed, and ſent to the King for his Aſſent: But the *Scots* Commiſſioners preſented to both Houſes a large Declaration; wherein they openly complained, that the Parliament of *England* violated the Covenant, in labouring for Peace, without the Concurrence of *Scotland*. They preſſed hard for a perſonal Treaty between the King, both

both Houſes, and themſelves; but the Parliament fearing the Independents, wiſhed for a ſpeedy Peace, took the *Scots* Declaration as a great Offence, and committed the Printer to Priſon. 1647.

The four Bills being ſent to the King, the *Scots* Commiſſioners went to the *Iſle of Wight*, and delivered to the King a Paper, wherein they declared their Diſſent both to the Propoſitions and four Bills; after which they had a Conference with the King ſome Hours. In this Conference they promiſed, that if the King would give them Satisfaction touching the Covenant, and the Abolition of Epiſcopacy in *England*, the *Scots* would enter *England* with a ſtrong Army; which, being joined by the King's Party and *Engliſh* Preſbyterians, would become ſo ſuperior to the Independents, that nothing would be able to oppoſe his Reſtoration.

The King and *Scots* Commiſſioners entered into a Treaty to the Effect above; only the King, the Royal Family, and his Houſhold, had Liberty to exerciſe their own Religion; and Preſbyterianiſm was to be the eſtabliſhed Religion for three Years. This being done, the King gave an Anſwer to the Parliament's Commiſſioners, that he could not conſent to any one Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace ſhould be concluded, and then that he would be ready to give all juſt Satisfaction.

As ſoon as the King's Anſwer was given to the Commiſſioners for the Parliament, *Ham-*

1647. *Hammond* caused all the King's Servants to be put out of the Castle; and kept him so close Prisoner, that no Man had Liberty, without Leave, to speak to him.

This was no sooner done, but one Captain *Burley* endeavoured to stir up the People to go and rescue the King; but he had laid his Measures so ill, that he was taken, hanged, drawn, and quarter'd.

The King's Answer being read in Parliament, several Members spoke against the King with great Warmth. *Cromwell* was the most severe; and moved, that they might enter upon those Counsels which were necessary towards the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having further Recourse to the King. This Motion was debated and voted, that no more Messages should be received from the King, nor any more Addresses made to him.

The Project of the *Scots* was to send an Army into *England* against the Independents, and set the King at Liberty. The Marquis of *Ormond* was to return into *Ireland*, where the Lord *Inchiquin*, who commanded the Parliament's Forces in *Munster*, had promised to declare for the King. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave*, who had great Interests in *Yorkshire* and *Cumberland*, engaged to sieze *Berwick* and *Carlisle*. The Presbyterian Party being still very numerous in the Parliament and City, were preparing openly to oppose the Army.

The Independents had a-mind to be Masters

Masters of the Kingdom, as they were already of the Parliament and City. *Oliver Cromwell*, who privately managed their Affairs, had brought into the House many more of his Faction, and had now got a Superiority there: And when any leading Independent spoke with Earnestness in the House, he seldom met with Opposition; for he was considered as the Mouth of the Army. 1647.

The Presbyterians joined with the King, in hopes thereby to crush the Independents, and that then they could be able to impose their own Terms upon the King. And tho' the King could never be brought to abolish Episcopacy; yet the Necessity he was in obliged him to accept of the Assistance of the Presbyterians, in hopes of a favourable Change, or of putting off his Ruin as long as possible; since it had been talk'd at a Council of Officers held at *Windsor*, that it was moved to take away his Life: Besides, the King thought, that by setting the Presbyterians and Independents at Variance, the weakest Party might side with him without Terms, rather than see their Enemies triumph. Thus each Party acted with different Views.

After the two Houses had resolved to present no more Addresses, nor receive any more Messages from the King, there seemed to be a strict Union between the Parliament and Army; and the General was desired to send

1648. ſend two Regiments to guard the Parliament, which was done.

At the opening of the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſet Speeches were made by ſeveral of the Members, to ſtir up the People againſt the *Engliſh*; and they appointed a Committee of 24 Members, with Power to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom, in caſe it ſhould be in Danger: For this Reaſon they were called *The Committee of Danger.*

This Committee having examined the State of the Kingdom, found it to be in Danger, and that it was neceſſary to raiſe an Army of 40,000 Men, to put it in a Poſture of Defence.

The Marquis of *Argyll*, who was of the Committee, endeavoured, but could not prevent this Reſolution; yet found Means to ſtir up the Commiſſioners of the General-Aſſembly of the Kirk to oppoſe this Affair, who ſent their Demands to the Parliament. There were 18 Lords, and 40 Members, that entered a Proteſt againſt the Vote. Theſe Things retarded the raiſing of the Army.

Wales was the Place where the firſt Scene was opened. In that Country there were three Colonels, *Langhorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, who had faithfully ſerved the Parliament during the War: But, finding themſelves among the Number that were by the new Eſtabliſhment to be diſbanded, were extreamly diſſatisfied, and reſolved to declare for the King, as ſoon as the *Scots* ſhould enter

ter *England*. *Poyer*, being Governor and Mayor of *Pembroke*, ſaw Colonel *Fleming* arrive unexpectedly with the General's Commiſſion to take the Government of the Caſtle. *Poyer*, upon this, refuſed to give up the Caſtle, and even defeated *Fleming*, who had ſome Troops ſent to put him in Poſſeſſion of *Pembroke* Caſtle. After this, all *South Wales* declared for the King. 1648.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in *Wales*, there were Commotions in *Kent*, where the King had many Friends. There was a great Riot at *Canterbury*, and the Multitude wounded and abuſed the Mayor and others of the Magiſtrates; and, at laſt, the Cry was, *For God, King* Charles, *and* Kent. The Tumult being appeaſed, Commiſſioners were ſent to try the Mutineers that were apprehended; but the Grand Jury refuſed to find the Bills.

Soon after one *l'Eſtrange* being at the Houſe of Mr *Hales*, a young Gentleman, who was Heir to a great Eſtate, perſuaded him to undertake ſomething in favour of the King. Matters was ſo ordered in the County, that in *May* the People of *Kent* roſe, took up Arms, and owned *Hales* for their General.

The Malcontents in *Kent* being greatly increaſed, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *William Waller*, went and headed them; and, imagining *London* would not fail to declare for them, advanced towards *Blackheath*.

Fairfax marched with his Army over *London* Bridge, in order to give them Battle; where-

1648. whereupon the Revolters retired, ſome to *Rocheſter*, and others to *Maidſtone*. *Fairfax* attacked theſe laſt ſo vigorouſly, that he carried the Town by Storm, ſlew abundance of their Men, and took a great Number of Priſoners.

Thoſe that had retired to *Rocheſter*, went and poſted themſelves on *Blackheath*, hoping ſtill that *London* would ſend them Aſſiſtance, or receive them into the City: But hearing that a Detachment of the Army was approaching them, they took to their Heels, and every Man ſhifted for himſelf; but, however, a great many were taken Priſoners.

The County of *Eſſex* ſtood affected the ſame Way with that of *Kent*. The Parliament ſent a general Pardon into *Eſſex* for ſuch as would lay down their Arms; but moſt of them refuſed it, by the Inſtances of Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was the moſt active Royaliſt in thoſe Parts.

Fairfax marched directly into *Eſſex*, where the Number of the Revolters was increaſed by the Junction of the Troops brought out of *Hertfordſhire* by the Lord *Capel*; but not being able to keep the Field before a ſtronger Army, they retired to *Colcheſter*, where they reſolved to ſtand upon their Defence.

Fairfax did not think proper to attack this Place in Form, but kept it blocked up, and reſolved to reduce the Beſieged by Famine.

The Mob gathered together in *London* at *Moor-*

Moorfields, and the Train'd Bands were ſent 1648.
to diſperſe them. The Rioters fell upon the Train'd Bands, and wounded and killed ſeveral of them; after which the Number increaſed; and ſome ſeized *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, whilſt others made towards *Whitehall*. The General, who was then in *London* with only two Regiments, called a Council out of hand, where it was debated, whether they ſhould ſtay for more Forces, or attack the Mutineers? It was reſolved to attack them; and tho' they made an obſtinate Defence, they were at length diſperſed. The Parliament having received a particular Account of this Commotion, ordered publick Thanks to be given to God in all Churches of *London*, for its being happily appeaſed.

The Duke of *York*, the King's ſecond Son, made his Eſcape from St *James*'s Palace, and retired into *Holland* to the Princeſs of *Orange*, his Siſter; and, ſome Days after, *Langdale* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Berwick*, and *Muſgrave* of *Carliſle*.

As ſoon as *Langdale* was Maſter of *Berwick*, all the Royaliſts in *Yorkſhire*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, came and joined him; by this Means he formed a Body of 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe.

The Parliament having ordered eight Men of War to guard the Seas, theſe Ships lay in the *Downs* to take in Proviſions. Some *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, the King's Friends, frequently came on board; and the Sailors, at laſt, had an Inclination to mutiny.

1648. The Seamen took the Liberty to contradict the Officers; whereupon Vice-Admiral *Rainſborough*, who was to command this Squadron, was ordered to repair to the Fleet. *Rainſborough* began to make ſtrict Inquiſition on board his Ship; upon which the Men all roſe againſt him, and, laying hold on him, put him, with ſome more of the Officers, into the Boat, and ſent them on Shore. The reſt of the Ships followed the ſame Example, and uſed ſuch Officers as they did not like in the ſame Manner. After this they ſailed for *Holland*, in order to put themſelves under the Command of the Duke of *York*.

The Duke of *York* being come to the Fleet, which was then at *Helvoetſluys*, was received with great Acclamations. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral. As ſoon as the Prince of *Wales*, who was at *Paris* with the Queen, his Mother, heard of the Revolt of theſe Ships, he reſolved to go and command them himſelf. He came to the Fleet; and after having provided what was wanting, by the Aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange*, he ſent back the Duke of *York* to the *Hague*, it not being proper to venture both at one Time. He came to the *Thames*, as well to intercept all outward and homeward bound Ships, as to ſupport the King's Party, and that of the Preſbyterians in the Parliament and City; the Queen having enjoined him to court the Preſbyterians, con-

ceiving

ceiving it was only by their Means that the King could be reſtored. 1647.

The Earl of *Warwick* drew a Fleet together, and went and anchored in ſight of the Prince; who having ſmaller Ships, and being fewer in Number, durſt not engage him, but failed back to *Holland*, and came ſafe to *Helvoetſluys*. *Warwick* followed him, and appeared before that Port; but to no Manner of Purpoſe. Thus ended the Prince of *Wales*'s Expedition; he not having Money ſufficient to pay his Fleet, and provide it with Neceſſaries.

In *June* the King's Friends found Means to ſurprize *Pontefract* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, and put a Garriſon there. Shortly after *Scarborough* Caſtle revolted againſt the Parliament, and declared for the King.

The Earl of *Holland*, at the Head of ſome Troops, came to *Kingſton upon Thames*, where the young Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis Villers*, his Brother, and the Earl of *Peterborough*, joined him with ſome Troops. As ſoon as they were together, they ſent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of *London*, declaring their Intentions to join with the Forces of *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, and *Middleſex*, to releaſe his Majeſty's Perſon, to bring him with Honour to his Parliament, and to ſettle Peace in the Kingdom.

This Letter was ſent to the Parliament, who voted the Lords that had ſigned it

to

1648. to be Traitors, and their Estates to be sequestered.

The Day this Letter was writ, Colonel *Levesey*, with some Companies of the two Regiments that were quarter'd in *Westminster*, met these Lords at *Kingston*, and entirely routed them. The Lord *Francis Villers* was slain. The Earl of *Holland* was taken, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle.

At last the Duke of *Hamilton* entered *England* at the Head of the *Scots* Army the 11th of *July*, and *Cromwell* with an Army marched to meet him. *Hamilton* continued 40 Days in the Northern Counties. Major-General *Lambert* commanded an Army in the North; and *Cromwell* was intended to join him. *Fairfax* was employ'd in the Blockade of *Colchester*; and had not *Hamilton* staid so long in the North, but marched directly to *London*, while the Independent Armies were thus separated, in all Probability the City and Parliament would have openly declared against the Army, and expelled out of both Houses the Independent Members: But as *Hamilton* was an Episcopalian in his Heart, it is very likely his long Stay in the North was only to give the King's Friends in those Parts Opportunity to join with *Langdale*'s Forces, and thereby render the King's Party superior.

However this be, *Hamilton* marched to *Carlisle*; from whence he drew out the *English* Garrison placed there by *Musgrave*, and put

put in a *Scots* one. Some Days after, *Langdale* joined him with 4000 Foot and 800 Horſe. They marched to *Kendal*, where they ſtaid ſome Time, and then advanced to *Preſton*. 1648.

Mean while *Cromwell* having reached *Yorkſhire*, *Lambert* went and joined him, and they marched together directly to *Preſton*, where *Hamilton* lay. *Langdale* was always a Day before the *Scots* Army, and made the Van of the Duke's Army; and ſent the Duke word, that *Cromwell* was approaching with a Reſolution to give him Battle; and that conſequently it was neceſſary to keep their Armies cloſe together. The Duke took no Manner of Notice of this Intelligence, being perſuaded, that it was only ſome Detachment of *Cromwell*'s Army. In ſhort, *Langdale* was met with, and charged by the Enemy's Horſe, who drove him to *Preſton*, whither he brought with him ſome Priſoners; who averred, that *Cromwell*'s whole Army was at hand. Whereupon the Duke ſent him back to his Troops, promiſing to ſend him Aſſiſtance; but he was not ſo good as his Word: ſo *Langdale* being attacked, was forced to maintain a very unequal Fight, which laſted, however, ſix Hours; but in the End he was utterly routed. Immediately after, *Cromwell*'s Horſe marched to *Preſton*, where all was in Confuſion; ſo that nothing was thought on, but how to eſcape: However, the Number of the Slain was about 1000, and

1648. and the Prisoners about 4000. *Cromwell* afterwards pusued the Enemy as far as *Warrington*. In the Pursuit about 1000 more were slain, and above 4000 more taken Prisoners. The *Scots* Army and *Langdale*'s together consisted of about 21,000, and *Cromwell*'s only of 8600. In the End the Duke of *Hamilton* was taken Prisoner, and his whole Army killed, taken, and dispersed.

This was followed by the taking of *Colchester*. The Blockade had lasted above two Months. The General caused Lord *George Lisle*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, to be executed. The other Prisoners that were taken, were the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Loughborough*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Sir *John Watts*, Sir *Lodowick Dyer*, Sir *Henry Appleton*, Sir *Dennard Strut*, Sir *Hugh Oriley*, Sir *Richard Manliverer*, 9 Colonels, 8 Lieutenant-Colonels, 9 Majors, 30 Captains, 65 Gentlemen, 72 Lieutenants, 69 Ensigns and Cornets, 183 Serjeants, 3067 private Soldiers. They held out so long, that all the Dogs and Cats, and most of the Horses, were eaten.

The Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Cavaliers, for so the King's Party was called, were so opposite in their Intentions, that which soever should prevail, the other two must have been ruined. And after the Army was removed from *London*, the Presbyterians became uppermost; and being in no

no Danger from the Army, passed such Votes as were most suitable to their Interest. 1648. The Commons ordered the eleven Members, and the seven Peers accused by the Army, should be fully discharged. They also ordered, that a personal Treaty should be had with the King, and that the *Scots* might be invited to the Treaty; and *Newport*, in the *Isle of Wight*, was the Place appointed to treat with the King; and five Lords, and ten Commoners, were chosen to treat with the King. This was all done before the Defeat of the *Scots* Army.

The Independents, after the Defeat of the *Scots*, and taking of *Colchester*, began to look up, and presented a Petition to the Parliament, subscribed by several Thousands, openly complaining of the Commons Proceedings; and that they expected, after the Success God had blessed their Arms with, other Ways from them than a Treaty with the King.

In this Petition was set forth several Articles of a new Establishment, according to their own Principles; to which they demanded an Answer. The Parliament did not think fit to answer their Petition; but sent them word, they would take it into Consideration.

I shall now turn to the Affairs of the North. *Monro* was leading from *Scotland* 3 or 4000 Men to the Duke of *Hamilton*, when the *Scots* Army was defeated.

Cromwell left *Lambert* to finish the Destruction

1648. ſtruction of the *Scots*; which he did, and went in purſuit of *Monro*. *Cromwell* being come near *Berwick*, writ to the Committee of Eſtates, to require them to call home *Monro*, and deliver up *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, otherwiſe they muſt expect War. A few Days after, he purſued his March towards *Scotland*, having left ſome Regiments to block up *Berwick*.

The Committee of Eſtates daily loſt their Authority, and were backed by none but *Monro*: So the Marquis of *Argyll*, being ſure of the Approbation of the generality of the People, levied 3 or 4000 Men to oppoſe *Monro*, whom the Earl of *Lanerk* had joined with ſome Troops.

Cromwell, however, marched directly to *Edinburgh*, and forced the Committee of Eſtates to fly from thence, and ſhift for themſelves. The Earl of *Lanerk* and *Monro* finding it was not in their Power to continue the War, came to an Agreement, that their Armies ſhould be diſbanded, and a Parliament called, and the ſettling of Religion be referred to the Determination of the Aſſembly-General.

Cromwell likewiſe obtained the Reſtitution of *Carliſle* and *Berwick*, and returned in Triumph into *England*, leaving *Lambert* (who followed him with four Regiments) in *Scotland*, at the Requeſt of the *Scots*, to hinder any new Commotions.

Whilſt *Cromwell* was in *Scotland*, the Conferences for Peace began at *Newport*; but be-

before they would enter upon the Treaty, 1648.
the King was constrained to paſs three Bills. By the firſt, the Preſbyterian Government was eſtabliſhed for ever in the Churches of *England*, Epiſcopacy aboliſhed with the whole Hierarchy, and the Sale of the Biſhops Lands appointed. The ſecond was, to leave the Power of the Militia for 30 Years in the Hands of both Houſes. By the third, the King's Proclamations againſt the Parliament, or their Adherents, were re-called. But theſe were not to become a Law, unleſs the whole Treaty was concluded.

When Matters were debated betwixt the King and the Commiſſioners, the King could not in his Conſcience agree to the utter aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, which he would have had tolerated for tender Conſciences; yet would allow the eſtabliſhed Religion to be Preſbyterian. All other Points in Diſpute would have been ſettled, if this about Epiſcopacy could have been got over.

The Time for the Treaty was ſeveral Times enlarged; and as Religion was the only Point that hindered a Concluſion, *Cromwell* was afraid the King would give way at laſt. To hinder which, the Independent Party ſent a Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons, containing ſeveral Articles which they inſiſted upon. The firſt was, that the King be brought to Juſtice, as the capital Cauſe of all the Evils in the Kingdom, and of ſo much Blood being ſhed: That the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*

1648. do ſurrender themſelves, or be declared incapable of Government, or any Right in *England*: That no King be hereafter admitted but by Election; with ſeveral other Matters relating to the ſettling of the State.

There came ſeveral Petitions from different Parts of *England*, deſiring that ſpeedy Juſtice might be executed upon the greateſt Delinquents; ſome naming the King and his Party the principal Invaders of their Liberties.

The Army having received no Anſwer from the Parliament, the General ſent to require Colonel *Hammond* to repair to the Army, which he did; and ſent Colonel *Ewers* to take the Command of his Majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*, who kept the King under very ſtrict Cuſtody. The Commons complained of this, and voted, that *Hammond* ſhould go again to his Command in the *Iſle of Wight*: But the Army took no Notice of it; but the next Day commanded the King to be removed to *Hurſt* Caſtle, in *Hampſhire*.

After this the General marched to *London* with the Army, who took up their Quarters in *Whitehall*, St *James*'s, the *Meuſe*, and other Places in the Skirts of the City.

Notwithſtanding, the Parliament continued their Debates about a Peace; and, at laſt, it was voted, that his Majeſty's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions upon the Treaty, were ſufficient Grounds for ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom.

On

On the 7th of *December*, *Cromwell*, who came to *London* the Night before, ſat in the Houſe, and received Thanks for his great Services. 1648.

Soon after a Plan was preſented to the General, intitled, *A new Repreſentative, or an Agreement of the People for ſettling the Government.* This Plan was wholly founded upon Independent Principles, and agreeable to the Army's Remonſtrance. The Houſe of Commons conſiſted now of none but Independent Members, who were openly ſupported by the Army, and whoſe End was, to deſtroy equally King, Monarchy, Epiſcopacy, and Preſbyterianiſm.

After the Independents were predominant in the Parliament, Petitions againſt the King multiplied ſo faſt, that ſcarce a Day paſſed without ſome one being preſented to the Houſe of Commons; eſpecially from the Garriſons, which were part of the Army. I find only two Counties, *Somerſetſhire* and *Norfolk*, that preſented Petitions, deſiring that the King himſelf might be brought to impartial Juſtice.

On the 23d of *December* the Commons having reſolved, purſuant to the Deſires of the Army, to bring the chief Delinquents to a Trial; and, intending to begin with the King, appointed a Committee of 38 to draw up a Charge; and, for that Purpoſe, to receive all Informations and Examinations of Witneſſes for Matters of Fact againſt him.

The

1648. The ſame Day the Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, ſent a Declaration to the General, that they concurred with the Army in their Remonſtrance. *Warwick* had been one of the Preſbyterian Leaders, yet was the firſt that quitted that Party.

The Reſolution being taken to try the King, he was ordered to be removed to *Windſor*; and on the 19th of *January* he was carried to St *James*'s. The Council of War ordered, that all the uſual Ceremonies to the King, as ſerving him upon the Knee, and the like, ſhould be laid aſide, and moſt of his Domeſticks to be diſmiſſed.

The Committee appointed to conſider of drawing up a Charge againſt the King, reported an Ordinance for attainting him of High Treaſon, and for trying him by ſuch Commiſſioners as ſhould be named in the ſame. And the Commons having read the Ordinance, paſſed an Act for erecting a High Court of Juſtice, with Power to try the King; the Preamble of which began thus:

"Whereas it is notorious, that *Charles* "*Stuart*, the now King of *England*, not "content with thoſe many Incroachments "which his Predeceſſors had made upon the "People in their Rights and Freedoms, hath "had a wicked Deſign totally to ſubvert "the ancient and fundamental Laws and Li-"berties of this Nation, and, in their Stead, "to

"to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical 1648.
"Government, *&c.*"

By this Act, Power was given to *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, *Oliver Cromwell*, *Henry Ireton*, Efqrs. and 137 others, to be Judges for hearing, trying, and adjudging of the faid *Charles Stuart*. This was fent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, where only nine Lords appeared; the reft having abfented themfelves, that they might not be compelled to countenance the outrageous Proceedings of the Commons.

Notwithftanding, when this Ordinance came to the Lords, feven more appeared, in all 16; who unanimoufly rejected it, and, at the fame Time, adjourned for ten Days.

This Artifice would not do with the Commons; for they voted, that the Concurrence of the Lords was not neceffary; and ordered, that the fix Lords who were in the Number of the King's Judges, fhould be left out of the Commiffion, and others put in their Room.

The Commons alfo voted, that the People, under God, are the Original of all juft Power; and that the Commons of *England*, being chofen by the People, had the fupreme Authority of this Nation; and what they enacted, fhould be Law, without the King or Lords' Concurrence. This fquared exactly with the Independents, who were for turning the Monarchy into a Republick.

The King refufing to anfwer before the High Court of Juftice, his Refufal was look-
ed

1649. ed upon, according to the Laws of *England*, as a Confeſſion, and Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him the 27th of *January*. A little before his Sentence was pronounced, he earneſtly deſired to be heard before the two Houſes; ſaying, he had ſomething of great Importance to offer to them: but his Deſire was rejected. It is generally believed, that he intended to propoſe, that he would abdicate the Crown in favour of his eldeſt Son.

The Sentence was executed the 30th of *January*, on a Scaffold erected in the Street, cloſe to the Windows of the Banqueting-houſe at *Whitehall*. The King ſuffered Death with great Conſtancy and Reſolution, without ſhewing the leaſt Sign of Weakneſs or Amazement. His Body, after having been for ſome Days expoſed to View in one of the Rooms at *Whitehall*, was carried to *Windſor*, and buried, without any Pomp, in St *George*'s Chapel.

Two Men in Diſguiſes and Vizards ſtood upon the Scaffold for Executioners; but it is not known to this Day who they were.

THE HISTORY OF THE *INTER-REGNUM*,

FROM

The DEATH *of* King CHARLES I.

TO

The RESTORATION *of* King CHARLES II.

The COMMONWEALTH *of* England.

IF ever there was an usurped Government it was that of this Parliament, mutilated, and founded only in Violence, and unsupported by any other Protection than that of the Army. They asserted, that the Republican Government was not only the most perfect; but, further, that it was absolutely necessary for *England*, harrassed with so many Oppressions from its Kings; who had changed the Government into a real Tyranny.

Up-

1649. Upon the Death of the King the Commons immediately publiſhed an Act, forbidding the proclaiming of *Charles Stuart*, eldeſt Son of the late King, or any other Perſon whatever, under the Pain of High-Treaſon.

The Houſe of Lords demanded of the Commons a Conference about ſettling the Government, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. But the Commons, without taking any Notice of this Meſſage, voted the Houſe of Lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous; and therefore to be aboliſhed. A Privilege was only left to the Lords, to be elected Members of Parliament in common with other Subjects: This Privilege was embraced by a few, but the greater Part rejected it. Thus this Parliament, which in the Beginning conſiſted of about 120 Lords, and 530 Repreſentatives, ſaw itſelf reduced to a Houſe of Commons of about 80 Members. This was done by the Care and Addreſs of *Cromwell* and his Aſſociates, who had the Army to back them.

Their main Principle was, that the Sovereign Authority reſided originally in the People; who had intruſted the King with one Part of it, to govern according to the Laws: That the King had abuſed this Truſt, and broken the primitive Contract; ſo that the primitive Power thereby returned back to the People, as Proprietors of it: and conſidering themſelves as the Repreſenta-

ta-

tatives of the People, they believed they had a Right to change the Government. 1649.

In consequence of this Principle, they enacted, that Monarchy should be abolished as unnecessary and dangerous; and that the State should be governed by the Representatives of the People, in a House of Commons, without King or Lords; and under the Form of a Commonwealth.

The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were abolished; and instead thereof a new Oath was prepared, called, *The Engagement*; whereby every Man swore to be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers. A new Great Seal was made, and new Money was coined, which bore the Cross and Harp, with this Motto, *God with us*.

The Impression on the Great Seal was, *The Great Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, on the one Side; and a Cross and Harp on the other, with these Words, *The first Year of Liberty restored by the Blessing of God*. The Seal was committed to a certain Number of Persons, who were stiled, *Keepers of the Liberties of* England; and the Parliament made Choice of 39 Persons, to form a Council of State for the Administration of Publick Affairs under the Parliament.

The Parliament erected a new High Court of Justice, to try some Persons of Figure who were in their Hands; and the Peers of the

1649. Kingdom loſt their Privileges under this new Democracy.

Before this new Court, with *Bradſhaw* at the Head of it (as he was of that which condemned the King) were brought the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, all for appearing in Arms againſt the Parliament.

Hamilton in his Defence ſaid, that being born a Subject of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he had entered *England* in a hoſtile Manner by virtue of a Commiſſion from the Parliament of *Scotland*; which it was his Duty to obey: ſo could be no otherwiſe treated than a Priſoner of War. But it was immediately replied, that he was not proceeded againſt as Duke of *Hamilton*, but as Earl of *Cambridge*, in *England*; and, in conſequence of it, had taken his Seat in Parliament, and thereby became a Subject of *England*.

The Earl of *Holland* ſpoke but little in his Defence.

Goring, who had lately been created Earl of *Norwich*, repreſented, that he had been educated in the Court from his tendereſt Years; and, without examining whether his Cauſe was juſt, had followed the King his Maſter; not having had an Opportunity to be informed in ſuch Points; which, beſides, were above his Capacity.

The Lord *Capel*, immovable in his Principles, and zealouſly attached to the Cauſe of his Sovereign, defended himſelf with Cou-

Courage and Reſolution. He refuſed at firſt 1649.
to acknowledge the Authority of the Court; but at laſt he ſaid, that having ſurrendered himſelf a Priſoner at Diſcretion, he could not by the Law of Nations be put to Death but within ſuch a Number of Days; which were long ſince expired.

Sir *John Owen* ſaid only, that he was obliged in Conſcience to ſerve the King, by virtue of the Oath of Allegiance.

Notwithſtanding their Defence, they all received Sentence of Death: But as they had ſeveral Friends, Petitions were preſented for their Pardon; yet three of them, *Hamilton*, *Holland*, and *Capel*, were executed.

About the ſame time many others were executed, for the ſame Crime, in different Parts of the Kingdom.

After this the Parliament made an Act, which excluded for ever all thoſe Members who had never ſat in Parliament ſince the Death of the King, unleſs they gave the Houſe an entire Satisfaction. They alſo took Care that none was to ſit in Parliament but thoſe who were of Independent Principles, and ſhould ſign the Engagement.

The Prince of *Wales* received at the *Hague* the melancholy News of the Death of his Father, and immediately aſſumed the Title of King, being then 18 Years of Age. He found himſelf but coldly treated at *Holland*; ſo reſolved, at firſt, to go to *Ireland*: but not finding the Affairs there in a proper Po-

ſture

1649. ſture for his Reception, turned his Thoughts upon going to *Scotland*.

The *Scots*, after ſeveral Conſultations and Debates, hoping that by making him an Offer of their Crown, when his Affairs were almoſt deſperate, they would engage him to become a good *Scotſman*, and think himſelf happy in the Recovery of one of his Kingdoms. They reſolved therefore to acknowledge and proclaim him; but with Reſtrictions, which left them at liberty to capitulate with him.

After the Proclamation was read, the Council diſpatch'd Sir *Joſeph Douglas* to give the King Notice of it: But the King received coldly the News of his being proclaimed, as the Proclamation was clogged with ſo many Reſtrictions. The Marquis of *Montroſe*, and the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Lanerk*, repaired to the *Hague* alſo. And after the King had fully conſidered the Offer of the *Scots*, he declared that he would not go into *Scotland*; but perſiſted in his firſt Reſolution of going to *Ireland*. Thus, upon a bare Information that *Scotland* would not receive him without Conditions, he reſolved to refuſe that Crown. He did more, for at the ſame time he gave a Commiſſion to the Marquis of *Montroſe* to raiſe Forces in *Germany*, and make a Deſcent upon *Scotland*. The King could not, however, reſide any longer in *Holland*; becauſe the States had intimated to him, that they were afraid of a Quarrel with the Commonwealth: who

who actually ſent their Agent, one *Doriſlaus*, 1649.
to propoſe an Alliance with the States. But the Night of his Arrival, as he was at Supper in his Inn, with ſome other Perſons, ſix *Scots*, of the Marquis of *Montroſe*'s Retinue, entered the Room, and, after having dragged him from the Table, murdered him. The Aſſaſſins were not purſued; yet the King well knew that after this Action there was no Security for him at the *Hague*.

The extreme Weakneſs of the Parliamentary Intereſt in *Ireland*, brought the Houſe to a Reſolution to ſend Forces thither; and *Cromwell* managed it ſo that he was unanimouſly choſen Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom: but before his Troops could be got ready he had a Difficulty to overcome.

The Levellers, upon hearing that *Cromwell* was going to *Ireland*, aſſembled together at *Burford* to the Number of 5000: but *Reynolds*, by Order from General *Fairfax*, fell upon them with 5 or 6000 Men, when he was not looked for, and gave them an entire Defeat. 900 Horſe and 400 Foot were made Priſoners, ſent to *London*, and ſome of them executed.

While this Army was drawing together, the Marquis of *Ormond* marched towards *Dublin* with an Intention to beſiege it. This made *Cromwell* immediately diſpatch 3000 Men to reinforce the Garriſon, which was very weak.

The Succours, ſent by *Cromwell*, being ar-

1649. arrived at *Dublin*, Colonel *Jones*, the Governor, ſallied out upon the Beſiegers, and entirely routed them; and the Marquis of *Ormond* was obliged to follow the flying Troops, to prevent falling into the Hands of his Enemies.

Cromwell, with his Army, arrived at *Dublin* the Middle of *Auguſt*; but *Ormond* had retired a great Diſtance, and left a numerous Garriſon at *Drogheda*, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Aſton*. About the ſame time *Londonderry*, which was beſieged by the King's Forces, was relieved by a Sally, made by Sir *Richard Coot*; much after the ſame Manner with that of *Jones* at *Dublin*.

The News of theſe Defeats made the King change his Reſolution of going to *Ireland*; but he withdrew into the *Iſle of Jerſey*, with the Duke of *York*, his Brother, and his ſmall Court; where he made a Stay of ſome Months.

The Commotions raiſed in *Scotland*, by the King's Friends, being appeaſed, the Committee of States aſſembled to prepare and digeſt the Conditions which were to be demanded of the King; and they ſent Mr *George Windram* to acquaint him, that they were deſirous to treat with him concerning his Eſtabliſhment in *Scotland*.

The King was informed, that *Cromwell* had taken *Drogheda* by Aſſault, having put the Garriſon to the Sword; and was puſhing his Conqueſts with wonderful Rapidity.

This

This News made the King look upon *Scotland* with another Eye than hitherto. 1649.

Yet as the King found, by the *Scots* Propositions, that he was to renounce Episcopacy, for which his Father died a Martyr, and was to swear to the Covenant and the establishing of Presbyterianism; it was what he could not consent to, tho' he was very much straitened what Course to take: However, he dissembled with them, to prolong the Negotiation, in Hopes of good News from *Scotland*; where he knew the Marquis of *Montrose* would shortly make his Appearance.

The King of *Denmark*, as near Relation to *Charles*, furnished *Montrose* with a Sum of Money; and the *English*, settled in *Sweden*, assisted him all they could. He listed 500 Men, and with his Troops at *Cathness*, in *Scotland*, seized a Castle convenient for the Security of his Arms and Ammunition; then writ to his Friends to join him.

The *Scots* Parliament was surprized at this when a Negotiation was on foot; however, they speedily ordered the raising of 6000 Men, under the Command of *David Lesley*. Till this Army could be got ready, Colonel *Strachan* was detached with 300 Horse, to march towards *Caithness*, to hinder the King's Friends from joining *Montrose*.

As *Montrose* had no Horse to bring him Intelligence, he was surprized by *Strachan*'s Handful of Men; who, after a long March, fell upon him unexpectedly, and entirely routed them. *Montrose*, being forced to fly, threw

1650. threw away his Ribband and *George*, and took the Habit of a Peaſant, to prevent a Diſcovery; and put himſelf into the Hands of one *Aſton*, who had formerly ſerved under him, and promiſed his Concealment.

Aſton, however, for a Reward of 2000 *l.* diſcovered him to *Leſley*; and he was ſent to *Edinburgh*, condemned, and executed.

The King complained of this to the Parliament of *Scotland*: But they let the King know, that they had found Papers with *Montroſe*, which it was more for his Honour to conceal than publiſh: and the King, being left without any other Remedy, ſigned the Treaty, as the *Scots* had prepared it. He took Ship for *Scotland*; but before they would ſuffer him to land, he was forced to take the Covenant.

The Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who came with the King, ſenſible that it was not ſafe for them to appear, retired privately to their own Eſtates.

The Marquis of *Argyle* received the King with extraordinary Reverence: But two Days after, all his *Engliſh* Domeſticks were taken from him, except the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The King having none about him but Strangers, of Principles different to thoſe he was educated in, found himſelf under great Difficulties: But what gave him the moſt Vexation was, the Importunity of the Miniſters; pretending a Duty incumbent on them to inſtruct him in the Preſbyterian Re-

li-

ligion, and making no Scruple to brand the Hierarchy and Worſhip of the Church of *England*. However, he attended at their Sermons and Prayers; but with ſo little Attention that it was plain his Heart did not join with them. 1650.

The Marquis of *Argyll*, who was at the Head of the Preſbyterians, eaſily found the King wanted but Power to throw off the Yoke impoſed upon him; ſo withdrew himſelf from the Attendance of his Perſon, as from a ſecret Enemy.

The Parliament of *England*, being afraid that the King might invade *England* at the Head of a *Scots* Army; and that he would be joined with the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians, to the utter Deſtruction of the Independents, reſolved to carry War into *Scotland*. This was founded entirely upon political Intereſt; for they could have no juſt Pretence to make War upon *Scotland* for receiving their lawful King: Nay, it was a Conſequence of the Covenant of the two Kingdoms, though manifeſtly violated by the *Engliſh* Parliament.

Cromwell was haſtily recalled out of *Ireland*, to be made General of this Army. His Succeſs in *Ireland* made him be deemed the fitteſt Perſon; for he had reduced the greateſt Part of that Iſland to the Obedience of the Parliament.

There was one Expedient which did *Cromwell* great Service in *Ireland*; he publiſhed a Proclamation permitting, thereby all *Iriſh*

1650. *riſh* Officers to inliſt in the Service of foreign Princes: More than 25,000 immediately embraced the Offer, and went into the Service of *France* and *Spain*. This Step prevented the Marquis of *Ormond* from bringing an Army into the Field capable to hurt him; ſo that *Ireton* was left as his Lieutenant, who had very little Buſineſs upon his Hands.

Cromwell, on his coming to the Houſe, received Thanks for his Services: but as *Fairfax* had the Command of the Army, the Houſe gave him the firſt Offer to go into *Scotland*. *Fairfax* well knew, that as he was a Preſbyterian, this was only an empty Shew: neither was he for carrying War into *Scotland*; ſo he refuſed to take the Command, and gave up his Commiſſion. This was cheerfully received by the Houſe, and *Cromwell* declared General of the Armies of the Commonwealth: yet an annual Penſion of 5000 *l.* was ſettled upon *Fairfax* for his good Services.

The *Scots*, having received Advice of the Preparations in *England* for War, raiſed an Army with all Speed, and gave the Command of it to General *Leſley*; not daring to truſt the King, for Reaſons already given.

In *July*, *Cromwell* marched with 18,000 Men into *Scotland*, and advanced directly to where the Enemies Army lay, between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, ſo ſtrongly intrenched that *Cromwell* could not attack them. They had ſeveral ſharp Skirmiſhes, in which both Sides

Sides lost several Men; at last *Cromwell*, for 1650.
want of Provisions and Forage, was obliged to retire, with Design to put his Foot on board his Fleet, that attended at *Dunbar*, and to return into *England* with his Horse.

The *Scots* pursued him to *Dunbar*, and encamped upon a Hill; so that *Cromwell* could not ship off his Foot without manifest Danger. *Lesley* was of Opinion, that it was not convenient to attack the *English*; but the Clamour of the Ministers, which were in his Army, and promised a Victory as if by some Revelation, obliged him to draw nearer the Enemy.

Cromwell, who observed them with a Prospective Glass, seeing them descend the Hill, cried out, *That God had delivered them into his Hand!* He immediately ordered a Prayer to be made; then told his Officers, that he had felt while he prayed such a Repose in his Mind, that he made no Doubt but God would give him the Victory. Perhaps this was an Artifice to inspire the Soldiers with Courage, who were most of them Fanaticks.

The Armies being nigh, *Cromwell* fell upon the Enemy at break of Day. It was always his Maxim, not to expect, but fall upon the Enemy; the Assailants having always a great Advantage.

This Resolution being taken, he drew up his Army in the Night, and began the Fight an Hour before Day.

The *Scots* Cavalry, on the Right Wing, performed well at first; but were at last

1650. drove back, and put to flight: the Left Wing fled without ſuſtaining one Charge: three Regiments of *Scots* Infantry fought with ſuch Bravery that the greateſt Part died on the Spot: At laſt the *Scots* fled in Confuſion. It is ſaid, the *Scots* had 3000 killed, and 7000 made Priſoners; and that the *Engliſh* loſt no more than 300 (tho' they loſt 6000 while the *Scots* were in their Intrenchments betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*). The *Scots* after their Defeat abandoned *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, of which *Cromwell* made himſelf Maſter; but the Caſtle held out till the End of *December*.

This Misfortune to the *Scots* was a Benefit to the King; for at the raiſing of this Army Care was taken to employ none who had either been concerned in the Engagement of the late Duke of *Hamilton* (ſince called *Hamiltonians*) or were ſuſpected of Affection to the King: but the Neceſſity the *Scots* was now under obliged them to admit of the King's Party to join them; which was a great Satisfaction to him to ſee Men in Employ in the Army who were attached to his Intereſt.

Tho' the Parliament came to the Reſolution to admit this, yet the zealous Preſbyterians proteſted againſt it, and formed a Party called *The Proteſters*; whilſt thoſe who adhered to the Reſolution formed another, called *The Reſolutioners*. The former publiſhed a Remonſtrance; which, upon its being offered to the Parliament,

was

was voted feditious: yet this did not hinder fe- 1650.
veral Officers, as *Strachan*, *Ker*, and others, from joining the Proteſters.

The King made a Declaration in favour of the Preſbyterians, and that he would adhere to Preſbyterianiſm, in *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, to the End of his Life; thinking thereby to gain the Goodwill of the Proteſters.

This had not the deſired Effect: for, tho' the King ſigned this Declaration, they imagined he concealed ſome deep Deſign in it; ſo declared they would have no Communication with the Reſolutioners any more than with the Independents.

It was a great Vexation to the King to ſee himſelf thus diſappointed: And ſome of his Friends, in the Highlands, having drawn together ſome Troops, (under the Management of one *Frazier*, a Phyſician) ſent a Meſſage to the King to come and join them at ſuch a Place. The King withdrew himſelf, and went nigh the Place, but found not the Number of Troops he was made to expect; and while he was deliberating what to do, the Committee of State diſpatched *Montgomery* to ſolicit his Return. The King hereupon came back with him; and this Deſign, indiſcreet as it was, produced one good Effect: The Marquis of *Argyll*, and the Committee of States, apprehending the deſperate Reſolutions which the King might form from too rigorous a Confinement, and the great Diſorders which ſo difficult a Junc-

1651. Juncture might be attended with, if the King ſhould, in a Humour, put himſelf at the Head of the Malcontents; this Apprehenſion procured him better Treatment afterwards, and a great Share in the Conduct of the Publick Affairs.

At laſt the King was crowned at *Scoone*, the 1ſt of *January*, and received again the Covenant; and from that Day all Perſons, without Diſtinction, had free Acceſs to him. This done, an Army was raiſed, conſiſting of 15,000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe; and the King put himſelf at the Head of it, and had *Leſley* under him for his Lieutenant-General. He poſted himſelf at *Torwood*, between *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*.

Cromwell, after he had drawn his Army together, marched directly to the King, with Intention to give him Battle; but he found him ſo ſtrongly intrenched that he durſt not attack him. The Armies remained in their reſpective Camps for ſix Weeks.

Cromwell finding Proviſions grow ſcarce, detached Colonel *Overton* (who was followed by *Lambert* with ſome Troops) towards *Edinburgh*, to a Place provided with Boats; who paſſed the *Frith*, and took their Poſt in the County of *Fife*, where there was plenty of Proviſions.

As ſoon as the King knew this, he detached Major-General *Brown* with 4000 Men to fight them. *Brown* was routed; and *Cromwell* by this had full Liberty to tranſport his whole Army into the County of

of *Fife*. By this Means he deprived the King of any further Supplies from that County. 1651.

The King came to a Resolution to march directly into *England*; which was seconded by the whole Army, except the Marquis of *Argyll*. He was advised to put him under an Arrest; but did not think proper, yet left him in *Scotland*. The King enter'd *England* the 6th of *August*, and caused himself to be proclaimed by his Army, consisting of 18,000 Men.

The News of the King's March gave *Cromwell* the greatest Surprize, as it was what he had never expected. He detached, however, Major-General *Harrison* with 3000 Horse, which were to be followed by *Lambert*, at the Head of another Body of Cavalry, to retard the King's March as much as possible. At last *Cromwell* put himself upon the March, making all possible haste to reach the King; and left Major-General *Monk* in *Scotland* with 5000 Men.

The King enter'd *England*, full of Hopes that all the Enemies of the Independents, as well Presbyterians as Royalists, would run in Crowds to join him. He writ to the Earl of *Derby*, then in the *Isle of Man*, to repair to him; who immediately came into *Lancashire*, and had raised 1200 Men: but he was defeated by Colonel *Lilburn*, at the Head of ten Troops of Horse, brought from *York* to join with *Cromwell*.

After he came to *England*, about 5000

Scots

1651. *Scots* deſerted him, and returned back to *Scotland*; and the Militia that were in Arms in every County kept the King's Friends from coming together.

At laſt, after a very fatiguing March, the King arrived at *Worceſter*, where he was honourably received by the Magiſtrates, and ſolemnly proclaimed; and he reſolved to refreſh his Army in that Neighbourhood, which was reduced to about 13,000 Men.

Cromwell, after he had joined *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, found his Army much ſuperior to the King's. On the 3d of *September* *Cromwell* charged the Royal Army on both Sides the *Severn*; and, after an Engagement of ſome Hours, the King's Forces were driven back on both Sides the River, and forced to retire into the Town in ſuch Confuſion, that the Entrance was forgot to be defended. The Enemy broke into the Town, and the King fled through St *Martin*'s Gate, and with great Difficulty avoided falling into the Enemy's Hands. The *Scots* loſt about 2000 on the Field of Battle, and about 7000 made Priſoners; who were ſent to *London*, and there ſold for Slaves into the Plantations of the *American* Iſles. The Duke of *Hamilton*, mortally wounded, died next Day. Amongſt the principal Priſoners were General *Leſly*, the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, *Carnwath*, *Kelly*, *Derby*, and *Cleveland*.

The King being in a great Strait, diſmiſſed his Attendants, and put himſelf into the Hands

Hands of a trusty Guide, who conducted him, in a Peasant's Habit, through Bye-roads. In this melancholly State he spent a whole Day in a thick Oak Tree growing near the publick Road on the Borders of *Stafford-shire*; from whence he saw and heard People who travelled the Road talking of him, some of them wishing he might fall into their Hands. He travelled only in the Night, his Guide concealing him by Day in Cottages where he was not known, and where his Diet generally was only a little Milk. At last, after traversing the Country for the Space of two Months, from *Worcester* to the County of *Sussex*, he took Ship, and safely arrived in *Normandy* on the 22d of *October*. 1651.

Monk, who was left in *Scotland*, laid Siege to *Stirling*, which held out but a few Days. After this he sat down before *Dundee*, and, at last, took the Town by Storm. This was followed with the taking of *Aberdeen*, St *Andrew*'s, and all the rest of the Towns and Castles which were capable of making any Resistance. Thus, in a short Time, *Monk* reduced the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* to the Obedience of the *English* Parliament.

Thus the new Republick gained such a Reputation, that every State in *Europe* either courted its Friendship, or dreaded its Arms. This made the greatest Part of the Sovereigns excuse themselves from making any Offers to the King, who was reduced to the

1651. greateſt Extremities. He lived at *Paris*, maintain'd by his Mother, who had a Penſion from the Crown.

Cromwell returned to *London*, leading after him in Triumph his principal Priſoners, who were committed to the Tower; from whence *Maſſy* made his Eſcape. Eight Days after the Earl of *Derby* was tried by a Council of War, condemned, and beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*.

While theſe Things paſſed, the Parliament's Fleet became Maſter of the *Iſle of Jerſey*, *Cornet* Caſtle in the *Iſle of Guernſey*, and the *Iſle of Man*.

England now enjoying profound Tranquility, and *Scotland* being almoſt reduced, paſſed an Act of Parliament, which entirely aboliſhed kingly Power in *Scotland*, and united that Kingdom to the *Engliſh* Commonwealth, with a Power to depute a limited Number of Repreſentatives to the Parliament. Commiſſioners were ſent into *Scotland* to adjuſt this Union. The greater Part of the *Scots* Nobility, ſeeing themſelves unable to reſiſt the Parliament, ſubmitted to their Meaſures: But the Clergy were very much diſſatisfied with this Union.

The Parliament ſent Commiſſioners to propoſe a ſtrict Union with the States of *Holland*: But the *Engliſh* Envoys returned, not only diſſatisfied with their ill Succeſs, but affronted by Inſults on their Perſons from the Rabble at the *Hague*.

This let them ſee, that the Subjects of the States

States were more Friends to the King than to the Parliament; whose Resentment was so great against the States, that a War was resolved upon, *Holland* being considered as the only foreign Power the Parliament had to fear. For this purpose the Parliament, under colour of encouraging Navigation, made an Act, which forbad all foreign Commodities to be brought into *England* in any other than *English* Bottoms, or such as were of the Country from whence the Commodities came. 1651.

By this Act all Commerce between *England* and *Holland* was at an End, since that Commerce consisted only in foreign Merchandizes, which were brought from *Holland* in their own Vessels. Besides this, the Parliament granted Letters of Mart to several private Men, who complained of an unjust Confiscation of their Ships in *Holland*.

The States seeing the Design of the Parliament, sent an Embassy to *London*, to endeavour to prevent the War; but the Parliament urged so many Pretences, that nothing could be concluded: Wherefore, with great Care and Expence, a Fleet was put to Sea by the States, consisting of 150 Sail, under the Command of Admiral *Martin Van Trump*, one of the bravest and most experienced Seamen in *Europe*. In *May* he anchored in *Dover* Road with 42 Ships of War, pretending to convoy a Sail of Merchant-men.

Admiral *Blake*, who commanded the *English*

1652. *glish* Fleet, confifting only of 26 Sail, appearing in view, the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put to Sea, without ftriking their Flag: whereupon *Blake* fired three Guns, without Ball, for a Signal to ftrike; to which *Trump* anfwered no otherwife than by drawing up his Ships in Line of Battle, and, in Contempt of the Signal, difcharged one Gun; and, coming up to the *Englifh* Admiral, gave him a Broadfide.

Blake, being reinforced with eight Ships, the Engagement lafted from Four in the Afternoon till Night. The *Englifh*, if Hiftorians are to be credited, had not one Ship damaged, and the *Dutch* loft two, one taken, and one funk; and the next Morning failed away for *Zealand*.

After this the *Dutch* fent Ambaffadors to move for an Accommodation; but the Parliament infifted upon Terms they were not willing to grant.

Blake after this failed with 40 Ships to the Northward, in order to fall upon the Herring Fleet, and the Men of War which were to convoy them. *Trump*, informed of this, purfued him, and overtook him off of *Newcaftle*: But, while *Trump* was preparing for the Fight, a furious Tempeft fo difperfed his Fleet, that only 40 got into the Ports of *Holland*.

About the fame Time *Ruyter*, convoying a Fleet of Merchant-men with 34 Ships, was met by Sir *George Ayfcough*, and a furious Engagement enfued; which was bravely fought

fought on both Sides, till *Ayscough*, at last, was forced to stand in for *Plymouth*, and leave *Ruyter* an open Passage to convoy his Fleet to *Holland*. 1652.

While they were fighting in the Channel, *Van Gallen* fell upon the *English* in the *Mediterranean*, and beat their Fleet; but this Victory cost him his Life, which he lost in the Engagement.

In the mean while the *English* put to Sea with a formidable Fleet, and made themselves Masters of the Channel; so that the *Dutch* Fleet durst not look out. They took 40 *Dutch* Ships coming from *Portugal*, and six from the *Indies*, richly laden.

Whereupon the *Dutch* gave Notice to their Merchant-men, which were returning for *Holland*, to sail to the *Isle of Rhe*; and *Trump* put to Sea with 70 Men of War and six Fire Ships, and encountered *Blake*. The Fight lasted from Eight in the Morning till Night, when part of the *English* Fleet made Sail towards the *Downs*, and the Remainder sailed into the *Thames*. *Blake*, being wounded in the Engagement, his Fleet was in some Disorder; and *Trump* continued his Voyage to the *Isle of Rhe*.

From the Death of *Charles* I. the Duke of *Gloucester*, his third Son, had been confined in the *Isle of Wight*. He was ordered to depart the Kingdom, and repaired to the King, his Brother, at *Paris*.

Blake put again to Sea, in order to fall upon *Trump*, in his Return from the *Isle*

of

1653. of *Rhe* with 300 Merchant Ships. *Trump* being come into the Channel with his Merchant-men, met the *English* Fleet, much superior in Number: But finding himself too far advanced to turn back, a furious Engagement began, which continued three successive Days; and had been renewed the fourth, had the Ships on either Side been in a Condition to sustain a fresh Encounter. The *Dutch* lost 18 Men of War and eight Merchant-men: But their Historians pretend, that the *English* lost 24 Ships. Each Side challenged the Victory. However that be, *Trump* conveyed his 300 Merchant-men, except eight, into *Holland*.

Cromwell, at last, perceived that the Continuation of the War with *Holland* was the Contrivance of his Enemies, as a Means to have the Army disbanded, on the Pretence of their being an unnecessary Charge; and the House was inclined to come into the Project. He had Information, that a Conspiracy was forming against him: Affairs, therefore, were in such a Situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued, or himself ruined.

He therefore, by his Artifices, got the Officers of the Army, in a General Council, to draw up a Petition, and present it to the Parliament, demanding the Arrears of their Pay, and more exact Payment of the Army for the future.

The Parliament, as *Cromwell* had foreseen, complained of the Insolence of this Pe-

Petition; whereupon a second Petition was presented, desiring, that the Parliament might be dissolved, for that it was an Injury to the rest of the Nation to be utterly excluded from bearing any part in the Service of their Country; and besought that they would settle a Council of War for the Administration of the Government during the Interval. 1653.

This Remonstrance, tho' intended to exasperate the Parliament, was agreeable to the general Sentiments of the Nation. They had brought the King to a tragical End, changed the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, and imposed Taxes upon the People, to support an unnecessary War. All which had justly rendered them odious to the whole Kingdom.

The Members who had Employs in the Army strenuously supported the Petition; as also the Presbyterian Members, who had been received into the House, upon swearing to the Engagement: But the Plurality of Voices carried it for the contrary Opinion, and passed a Bill, forbidding any more such Petitions, on pain of being declared guilty of High Treason.

Cromwell, therefore, quite certain that this Parliament was very odious to the People, and that his Ruin was intended, came to the House the 20th of *April*, with a small Retinue of Officers and Soldiers; and, without any Ceremony, told the Members, that he came to put an End to their Power, of which

1653. they made so ill a Use, and bid them depart immediately. The Officers and Soldiers entered at the same Time, and staid at the Door till the Members walked out. *Cromwell*, as they came by him, called one a Drunkard, another a Robber, with such like severe Invectives against all his Enemies. After this he gave the Speaker's Mace to one of his Officers, and locked the Door.

A little after, *Cromwell* published a Declaration to justify the Dissolution of the Parliament; and as his Designs were not yet manifested, this Declaration was signed by the Colonels of the Army, and all the Sea Captains, and met with a general Approbation.

The Council of Officers, who had presented the Petition to the Parliament, still continued sitting; and *Cromwell* brought them to a Resolution, that 144 Persons should be intrusted with the supreme Power.

Cromwell took Care to manage it so, that these Persons were low and obscure in Birth, with no particular Merit, no Experience in Affairs, and, in short, utterly incapable of an Employ of this Consequence. *Cromwell* easily foresaw, that they would soon grow tired, and find themselves obliged to put the Government into his Hands. This done, he sent a Summons to each Person, under his own Hand and Seal, to meet at *Whitehall* the 4th of *July*.

These Persons being met, *Cromwell* open-
ed

ed the Aſſembly with a Speech, and gave them an Inſtrument, ſigned by himſelf and the principal Officers, which gave them the ſupreme Authority of the Nation for one Year and four Months. Amongſt theſe Members was one *Barebone*, a Leather-ſeller; who, in his Neighbourhood, went for a notable Speaker, from his entertaining them with long Harangues upon the Subject of the Times. From this Man the People, in Deriſion, called this *Barebone's Parliament*. 1653.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing, *Trump* came to an Engagement, wherein he loſt many Ships, and was forced to retire in Diſorder. Some time after, another Engagement enſued, which laſted three Days; in this *Trump* was killed: But Vice-Admiral *De Witzen* was not diſcouraged from continuing the Fight, till the two Fleets, as if by Conſent, ſtood away to their own Coaſts, unable to fight any longer. The Loſs on both Sides was very conſiderable; and neither of them could boaſt of a Victory.

Barebone's Parliament having ſit five Months, and done nothing conſiderable, and a good Body of Members being let into the Secret of *Cromwell*'s Intentions, aſſembled ſooner than uſual, and one of them roſe up and ſaid, *That Men of their Abilities were unequal to the Weight put upon them*; ſo delivered their Inſtrument into the Hands from which it was received, and diſſolved themſelves. Thus *Cromwell*, and his Council of Officers, ſaw themſelves inveſted with the ſu-

1653. preme Power, by that Parliament on which themſelves had conferred its pretended Authority. This Cheat was ſo groſs, that *Cromwell*'s hoping to impoſe upon the People by it is amazing: But any Abſurdity is ſwallowed when it is forced down by uncontroulable Power.

Two Days after, the Council of Officers declared, that, for the future, the Government of the Republick ſhould reſide in one ſingle Perſon; and they named *Oliver Cromwell* under the Title of *Protector of the three Kingdoms*, and to be aſſiſted by a Council of 21 Perſons.

This done, a Writing was drawn, called, *The Inſtrument of Government*; which contained, that a Parliament ſhould be called every three Years by the Protector. Such Bills as ſhould be offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he aſſented not in 20 Days, to be Laws without him: That after the Death of *Cromwell*, the Council ſhould chuſe another Protector before they riſe: That no Protector, after the preſent, ſhould be General of the Army; the Protector to have Power to make War and Peace. Immediately after he was proclaimed as ſuch at *London*, and had a magnificent Entertainment there, and the ſame Honours paid him as had been cuſtomary for Kings to receive at their Coronation.

[library stamp]

OLIVER CROMWELL,

PROTECTOR.

THE Treaty of Peace which had of late been negotiating between *England* and *Holland*, was on the 5th of *April* 1654 concluded and figned. By this Treaty *Cromwell* made good Advantage of the Neceffity which the States were under to make Peace. They confented to pay large Sums for Damages done to the *Englifh* 30 Years ago. They confented to the ftriking of the Flag. They entirely abandoned the Interefts of *Charles* II. It is faid, *Holland* and *Zealand* loft 1500 Ships in this War, which fell into the Hands of the *Englifh*. And this very War, which had been undertaken to ruin *Cromwell*, ferved to raife him, as it brought him under a Neceffity of diffolving the Parliament, to prevent his own Deftruction.

Tho' the Protector received a general Submiffion outwardly ; yet both the Royalifts and Prefbyterians looked upon his Elevation as a mortal Wound to their Affairs. This was the Caufe that a great many Confpiracies were formed againft *Cromwell*, and the Authors rigoroufly punifhed ; particularly Mr *Vowel* and Mr *Gerrard* were executed.

Don

1654. *Don Pantaleon Sa*, Knight of *Malta*, and Brother to the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, killed a Man in a Quarrel, and others were wounded by his Servant; whereupon *Cromwell* inſiſted on their being brought to Juſtice. The Gentleman was beheaded in the Tower, and his Servants hanged at *Tyburn*.

King *Charles* being now at *Paris* in the greateſt Neceſſity, not having wherewith to ſupport himſelf, found that the Court of *France* would give him no Relief; but had ſent Ambaſſadors to enter into a Treaty with *Cromwell*: So, to hinder a Requeſt which he apprehended would be made to him, to depart the Kingdom, he withdrew to *Cologne*, where he continued many Years; and, it is ſaid, that he embraced the Catholick Religion before he left *France*.

Ireton, who had reduced *Ireland* to the laſt Extremity, was taken off by the Plague in 1651; and the Parliament put their Forces in *Ireland* under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, a great Republican, and one of *Charles* I.'s Judges. The Cruelties and Barbarities which they had exerciſed upon the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, were now juſtly retaliated upon them. Many were delivered into the Hands of the Executioners; and others, to the Number of above 100,000, had the Liberty to go into the Service of foreign Princes; but moſt of them periſhed by Famine and other Miſeries.

Altho' *Scotland* was ſubdued; yet it was not entirely free from Diſturbance. The

Ge-

General-Assembly of the Kirk had been 1655.
suppressed by *Cromwell*: But the People of *Scotland* were made to see a Liberty, so contrary to their Covenant, introduced; but they found themselves incapable of throwing off the Yoke.

The Time being come for calling a new Parliament, Writs were issued; but *Cromwell* took Care to insert an express Prohibition against electing any Persons, or their Sons, who had born Arms for the King; and this was punctually obey'd.

The new Parliament being met, *Cromwell* opened it with a Speech. He represented his Services done for the Nation; and briefly touched upon the Disorders of the preceeding Government.

The first Thing proposed by the Parliament, was to examine the Power that had conveened them; a Question unexpected by *Cromwell*. Tho' he could not hinder the frequent Debates upon this Affair; yet he gave his Enemies Cause to apprehend that their Opposition would prove fruitless, when the Point should come to be decided. And he called them into the Painted Chamber, and made another Speech; after which a Guard was placed at the Door, denying Entrance to any Member that would not first sign a Paper, whereby they promised and engaged to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector. A great Number refusing to sign this Engagement, were excluded the House.

The

1655. The Cavaliers, with the Privity of a great many Members of Parliament, had formed a Plot to raiſe an Army in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. *Cromwell* had Information of it by his Spies, and diſſolved the Parliament eleven Days before the Time ſettled by the Inſtrument of Government.

Soon after he had the Names of ſome of the principal Actors. Major *Wildman* was arreſted by his Order; and a Declaration was found upon him, ſetting forth the Reaſons which ought to engage the *Engliſh* to take up Arms againſt *Cromwell.* Some others, both Republicans and Royaliſts, were arreſted on the ſame Occaſion.

The King being informed of the general Diſcontent which *Cromwell*'s Government had raiſed, thought this a favourable Opportunity. The Project was formed of a Riſing in the Weſt, and another in the North; and the King came to *Zealand*, to be near to *England*, if they had Succeſs. At the ſame time *Wilmot*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, came to *London*; and, conſulting the King's Friends, it was reſolved to put *Wagſtaff* at the Head of thoſe in the Weſt, and *Rocheſter* of thoſe in the North.

Wagſtaff came to *Saliſbury*, where he found *Penruddock*, *Jones*, and *Grove*, met together, with about 200 Horſe. They enter'd the Town, and made themſelves Maſter of the Market-place. It being the Time of the Aſſizes, they ordered the Gates to be ſhut,

ſhut, and ſeized the Judges and Sheriff, and proclaimed King *Charles*: But ſeeing the Inhabitants remained ſhut up in their Houſes, without joining them, they loſt their Courage, left the City, and retired Weſtward. A Troop of Horſe, that were quarter'd, in the Neighbourhood, purſued; upon which they laid down their Arms. *Wagſtaff* eſcaped; but the other three were taken. The firſt was beheaded; the other two hanged. 1655.

The Riſing in the North vaniſhed before it was well begun. *Rocheſter* repaired to the County of *York*, where he found ſeveral zealous for the King; but not thinking they were capable of executing their Deſign, *Rocheſter* thought fit to drop it, and returned to the King.

The King returned to *Cologne*, and diſcovered that *Manning*, one of his Domeſticks, held a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwell*'s Secretary; whereupon he was ſhot to Death.

Cromwell ſent a Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, to the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the Corſairs of *Algiers*, who made frequent Seizures of *Engliſh* Veſſels. He ſent another Fleet, under the Command of *Penn*, with 5000 Land Soldiers, commanded by *Venables*. Theſe laſt had their Commiſſions ſealed up, not to be opened till a prefix'd Time. They were to ſail to *Barbadoes*, where they arrived; and, opening their Commiſſions, they contained Inſtructions to

ſail

1655. fail to the *Isle of Hispaniola*, to render themselves Masters of St *Domingo*. On sight of the *English* Fleet, the *Spaniards* fled out: But *Venables*, instead of landing his Troops within a Mile of the Place, as his Instructions directed, landed them some Miles distant. This gave the Inhabitants Time to recover from their Fright; and they returned to the Town, and put it into a Posture of Defence; and the *English* were so fatigued with marching, Heat, Famine, and Thirst, that they were easily repulsed, and obliged to return to their Ships, leaving Numbers of Men dead and wounded.

The Fleet then failed to *Jamaica*, and seized the Island with little Difficulty; and the *English* have since established there a rich Colony. *Venables* was committed to the Tower at his Return, but soon discharged.

This occasioning *Spain* to declare War, their King gave Orders for the Seizure of the Effects belonging to the *English* Merchants in *Spain*, and all other Countries under his Dominion; which caused considerable Damage to the *English*, who hereby also forfeited the *Spanish* Trade, which was transferred to the *Dutch*.

This War with *Spain* was immediately followed by a Peace concluded with *France*.

Besides other Malcontents in *England*, those of *Cromwell*'s own Faction, who served him faithfully while his Designs were concealed, began to be exceedingly provoked

at

at their being made Tools to his private 1657.
Ambition.

The Army was his only Support; yet ſeveral of the Republican Officers were now inſpired with Hatred, ſeeing he had deluded them till they had become the Inſtruments of his Elevation. As he had three Parties to deal with, to keep them all in Subjection, he divided *England* into eleven Diſtricts, and eſtabliſhed in every one Officers, to whom he gave the Title of *Major-Generals*, with almoſt an abſolute Power, the better to qualify them to prevent Inſurrections. Theſe Major-Generals became ſo very tyrannical, that he ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity to reduce their Power.

Cromwell finding there was no Law in being, whereby he could puniſh Conſpirators; and finding it an Abſurdity to compel all by Force to acknowledge his Power thus uſurped, he reſolved to call a Parliament on which he could depend, and whoſe Authority he would make uſe of to eſtabliſh his own. He iſſued out Writs for that purpoſe; but, in moſt Places, made ſure of a Majority of Voices in favour of his own Friends; beſides, no Man was admitted to ſit in the Houſe, who did not firſt engage himſelf, under his Hand, to give no Diſturbance to the eſtabliſhed Government.

This Parliament, compoſed of the Repreſentatives of the three Kingdoms, met on the Day appointed; but more than 100

1657. Members refusing to sign the Engagement, were denied their Seats in the House.

Having now a Parliament at his Devotion, an Act was passed for renouncing the Title of *Charles Stuart*. By another it was declared High Treason to attempt any thing against the Life of the Protector. In short, this Parliament granted every thing he desired.

Several Persons were discovered of having a Design against *Cromwell*'s Life, who were executed.

Blake having Advice, that the *Spanish* Galleons were moored at *Teneriff*, one of the *Canary* Isles, set Sail, and attacked them, and afterwards boarded them in the Port; but the Wind not allowing him to carry them out, he set them on Fire. The *Spanish*, on this Occasion, sustained very great Loss; but *Blake* brought nothing off but the Glory of the Enterprize. *Blake* dying on Shipboard, was pompously interred by *Cromwell* in *Henry* VII.'s Chapel.

The Parliament fell into Debate; and, at last it was voted, that the Crown should be offered to *Cromwell*, and so receive the Title of *King*.

Cromwell, tho' undoubtedly in the Secret, was greatly perplexed what to do. His Friends told him, it would only be a Means to work his Ruin; and intimated, that they would desert him, if he accepted the Offer: Nay, he was informed of a Plot to assassinate him as soon as he was crowned. So these

Things made his Courage drop, tho' no doubt but his Ambition would have carried it. 1657.

However, they confirmed to him the Dignity of Protector, with an Addition of more Power by an Act, called *The humble Petition and Advice.*

After the passing this Act, *Cromwell* was sworn to the Articles therein contained, and appointed the 20th of *June* for the Day of his Inauguration, which was solemnized with great Pomp. He was, doubtless, of Opinion, that this second Inauguration was necessary to supply the Defects of the first, which he thought to be done with less Authority.

The League with *France* was made offensive and defensive against *Spain*. *Cromwell* was to join 6000 Men with the *French* Army, and *Mardyke* and *Dunkirk* was to be besieged, and, when taken, delivered into the Hands of the *English*.

King *Charles* being informed of what passed, enter'd into an Alliance with *Spain*: And tho' he had little to offer on his Part, yet he obtain'd a Pension of 6000 Livres a Month, and another of 3000 for the Duke of *Gloucester*: *Spain*, moroever, was to furnish him with 6000 Men as soon as he should become Master of any good Port in *England*; whereupon he went to reside at *Bruges*.

Cromwell, pursuant to the Treaty, sent 6000 Men to *France*, under the Command of

1657. of *Reynolds*. In this Campaign, several Places were taken from the *Spaniards*; amongst the rest, *Mardyke*, which was delivered to the *English*. *Reynolds* died; and *Lockhart*, a *Scotsman*, succeeded him.

By the humble Petition and Advice, *Cromwell* was to summon a new Parliament every Year; and there was to be two Houses of Parliament. He wanted to bring about the having a House of Peers; but as he durst not give it that Name, he contented himself with calling it the other House.

By an Article in the humble Petition and Advice, no Member that should be legally chosen, was to be excluded, without the Consent of their own House; and, at the meeting of this Parliament, it was voted to receive into the House all Members legally elected, who refused to sign the Engagement, before *Cromwell* had Time to oppose it.

By this Means more than 100 Members, all his sworn Enemies, were admitted into the House of Commons. From this Time the State of Affairs began to change. As their Designs against him were deeply laid, their first Care was to prevent any Interruption from the negative Voice of the other House, who were all his Creatures; therefore they voted, that the other House was to have no negative Voice: But *Cromwell*, who knew the Tendency of all this, called the Parliament to *Whitehall*, and, in a Speech, maintained the Authority of the other House

with

with ſuch Vehemence, that the Commons, 1658.
fearing an immediate Diſſolution, found it neceſſary to acknowledge the other Houſe as an eſſential Part of the Parliament.

This did not prevent the Commons from taking into Conſideration the Act, intitled, *The humble Petition and Advice*; and many were of Opinion, that it was null and void. *Cromwell* was quick-ſighted enough to ſee, that his Intereſt required the ſhortening this Seſſions of Parliament: He therefore came to the other Houſe, and, calling the Commons before him, made a long Speech, full of Invectives againſt the Commons, and diſſolved the Parliament.

This done, *Cromwell* being informed that *Lambert* was one of the principal Managers of the Conſpiracy, turned him out of all his Employments.

Fleetwood was re-called from *Ireland* to ſucceed *Lambert* in the Lieutenant-Generalſhip, and *Henry Cromwell*, younger Son to the Protector, was ſent to *Ireland* in *Fleetwood*'s Room.

The principal Contrivers of this Plot were, Mr *Mordaunt*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, Sir *Henry Slingſby*, and Dr *Hewet*, a Miniſter of the Church of *England*. They repreſented Matters to the King under ſuch a Light, that he was in great Hopes of Succeſs; and ſent Commiſſioners to inliſt Men, while he was preparing for the Expedition in the Low Countries.

One of theſe Commiſſions was granted to

1658. Mr *Hopley*, to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe. *Cromwell* hearing of this, ſent for him; and, by his Addreſs, brought him to a Diſcovery of the whole Conſpiracy; and *Mordaunt*, *Slingſby*, and *Hewet*, were arreſted and ſent to the Tower; and their Accomplices, to a great Number, were apprehended in all Parts of the Kingdom.

Cromwell created a High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of the Criminals. Mr *Mordaunt* eſcaped Death by the Management of his Wife, who bribed ſome of the Judges, and found Means to help one of the two Witneſſes againſt her Huſband to make his Eſcape. *Slingſby* and *Hewet*, with three more, were executed; the reſt were pardoned by *Cromwell*, who thought it not proper to create himſelf more Enemies.

In *June* this Year, Marſhal *de Turenne* laid Siege to *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniards* thought proper to hazard a Battle, they not being in a Condition to ſtand out a long Siege, in which they were entirely defeated. The Town, in purſuance of the Treaty made with *England*, was ſurrendered into the Hands of *Cromwell*, who placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and made *Lockhart* the Governor.

The Informations that *Cromwell* received, of Deſigns to aſſaſſinate him, put him upon his Guard more than ever; he never lay twice together in the ſame Chamber, nor appeared in publick without a very ſtrong Guard. However, in *Auguſt* he was ſeized

with a Fever, of which he died; after having appointed his eldest Son *Richard* for his Successor. He died on the 3d of *September*, in the 58th Year of his Age; and on the same Day of the Month that he had been victorious in two Battles, at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*. *Whitlock* says, some were of Opinion that he was poisoned. 1658.

The Republican Faction had two sorts of Men whom it was very difficult to govern; the one were Deists, or Men who were very indifferent as to Religion, and only wanted a perfect Liberty in the Civil Government; the others were Enthusiasts, who expected every Day the coming of the Reign of Jesus Christ upon Earth.

But to manage these, and the rest of the Factions, the better, *Cromwell* had Chaplains of all the Sects; and in giving Hints sometimes to one, sometimes to another, that he was by no Means irreconcilable to their Principles, every Faction had Hopes of a Change favourable to its own Interests.

RICHARD CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.

SOON after *Cromwell*'s Death his Son *Richard* was proclaimed Protector, in all the principal Towns of the three Nations, without the least Opposition; on the con-

1658. contrary, Addreſſes were ſent to *Richard* from all Parts, ſigned by many Thouſands, congratulating his Acceſſion to the Dignity of Protector; and thus he was inſtalled Succeſſor to his Father.

His firſt Care was, to engage *Monk*, Governor of *Scotland*, to his Intereſt; for this Purpoſe he ſent *Clarges*, *Monk*'s Brother-in-law, to deſire his Friendſhip. But this *Clarges*, as well as *Monk*, had been zealouſly attached to the King, and ſtill continued ſo in their Hearts; tho' their outward Behaviour was ſuited to the Times.

While theſe Things were acting, Preparations were making for *Oliver*'s Funeral, which was ſolemnized with great Magnificence; large Sums of Money being borrowed for that Occaſion by the new Protector. He was interred in *Henry* VII.'s Chapel, amongſt thoſe of the Kings and Queens of *England*.

Richard thinking it convenient to have his Dignity confirmed by Parliament, ſummoned one to meet. This Parliament was to conſiſt of two Houſes, that of the Commons with 400 *Engliſh*, 30 *Scots*, and 30 *Iriſh* Members; and the other Houſe conſiſted chiefly of Officers of the Army, who had generally roſe by military Employs in the laſt War.

It was inſinuated to *Richard*, that if the Parliament, which was going to meet, ſhould prove dangerous to his Authority, by being leſs tractable than he deſired; it might be pro-

proper for him to have a good Number of Officers, as well to consult them on any Emergency, as to let the Parliament see that he was supported by the Army. *Richard* easily was taken in this Snare laid for him; and issued out Orders to every Regiment, for the sending up to *London* such Officers as could be spared. This Blunder was punctually executed, and immediately a great Number of Officers appeared in *London*; who formed amongst them a Council, which frequently met, and assumed the Title of *The Great Council of the Army*. 1658.

Besides this Great Council, some Members of the Privy Council, and Officers of the Army, met; as well to consult how to deprive *Richard* of the Generalship, as to direct the Great Council; which, being composed of Numbers of inferior Officers, had need of being directed in their Deliberations.

This Council sent several Officers to attend the Protector with a Petition, That no Officer or Soldier should be turned out but by Sentence of a Council of War; that no Member of the Army should be proceeded against capitally otherwise than by a Martial Law; and lastly, that the Army should have Power to chuse their own General. Nothing was more opposite to the Designs of *Richard*; he peremptorily rejected it, and threatened even to cashier them if they persisted to make him any more such Proposals.

The Parliament being met, it was immediately debated in the Lower House, by what

1659. Right the *Scots* and *Irish* sent Representatives to the *English* Parliament: The Authority of the other House was likewise taken into Consideration, and Objections made against it. The Debates upon these two Articles lasted two Months; at last a Plurality of Voices carried it for the Continuation of the other House, and the Privilege of the *Scots* and *Irish* Representatives: After that the Parliament made an Act, to recognize *Richard Cromwell* for Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The Great Council and private Council of Officers presented a Petition to the Protector, whereby they demanded *Fleetwood* for their General.

He answered this Petition in an angry Tone, ordered them to dissolve their Council, and return to their respective Quarters. The Parliament also voted against holding any Council of Officers during the Session of Parliament; and that the Officers should take an Oath not to disturb the Deliberations of Parliament. These Votes were sent to the Upper House (now so called) for their Concurrence: but as the Officers were most prevalent there, it was rejected; and the Council of Officers still continued to meet.

At last the Officers came to a Resolution of forcing *Richard* to dissolve the Parliament, and went and seized all the Avenues about *Whitehall*. While the Court was in the utmost Consternation what to do, *Desborough*, with a strong Retinue, demanded an Audience

dience of the Protector, and required him, in the Name of the Officers, to diſſolve the Parliament. *Richard* denied at firſt; but finding they were reſolved by fair or foul Means to obtain what they demanded, he iſſued out a Proclamation, to declare the Parliament diſſolved. 1659.

From this Time *Richard* was no longer regarded, tho' he ſtill bore the Title of Protector. The Officers looked on him as an impotent, diſarmed Enemy, incapable to do them any Hurt: ſo that he loſt on a ſudden the Support of the Parliament, without gaining that of the Army.

The Officers thought themſelves now impowered to ſettle the Government according to their own Model: they choſe *Fleetwood* for their General; and by their own Authority diſcharged five Colonels, who had adviſed *Richard* to ſtand by the Parliament, namely, *Ingoldsby*, *Goff*, *Whaley*, Lord *Falconbridge*, and *Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Carliſle*; and at the ſame time reſtored *Lambert*, whom *Oliver* had diſcharged.

Lambert was a Man of immoderate Ambition; and by his Intrigues was endeavouring to undermine *Fleetwood*, as *Oliver* had done *Fairfax*, and ſo raiſe himſelf to the Protectorſhip.

Fleetwood was one of the moſt zealous Enthuſiaſts, of whom the Officers of the Army were compoſed, and by the principal Officers adjudged worthy to be *Cromwell's* Succeſſor. As General he called his Officers to-

1659. together to *Wallingford* House, to settle the Government.

The superior Officers came; but at the same time the inferior ones, by the Intrigues of *Lambert*, met at St *James*'s in far greater Numbers; and the Regulation of the Government was likewise the Subject of their Debates.

ALL the Officers at last agreed to have the Long Parliament restored; that is, the Parliament that brought the King to the Scaffold, and turned the Monarchy into a Commonwealth; and *Lambert* repaired to the House of *Lenthal*, Speaker of the Long Parliament, and laid before him the Declaration of the Great Council of Officers. The next Day the Parliament met, to the Number of Forty-two; which in Derision was called *The Rump Parliament*, in allusion to a Fowl all eaten but the Rump.

Soon after *Lambert*, attended with several Officers, presented a Petition to the House, which contained the Articles of Government; and the Administration of all executive Power of Government was, for the future, to be in a Council of State, consisting of a certain Number of Persons qualified in all respects.

Richard Cromwell was to have all the Debts contracted by his Father and himself paid; and a Revenue of 10,000 *l.* a Year settled upon him and his Heirs for ever, and 10000 *l.* a Year more during his Life; and upon

on his Mother 8000*l.* a Year during her Life; 1659.
as a Mark that the good Services done by his Father for the Nation might remain to Posterity.

Richard agreed to these Articles amongst several others; but the Parliament reserved what related to *Richard* till another Opportunity. The Members had but too just Reason to complain of *Oliver Cromwell*, who had deceived and shamefully dismissed them, to think themselves under an Obligation of paying extraordinary Honours to his Memory. They gave him but 2000*l.* towards paying his Debts; tho' the Expence of *Cromwell*'s Funeral was so great that it would swallow the greatest Part of his Substance: and sent an Order to him to quit *Whitehall* in six Days.

The Parliament voted, that the Government of *Ireland* should be by Commissioners; and *Henry Cromwell* was ordered to repair to the Parliament. All Historians are unanimous in their Praises of him; and he was entirely beloved in *Ireland*.

The Parliament's Aim was to become Masters of the Army, and voted, that all Commissions, granted to Officers, should be signed by the Speaker; and they began to make Alterations in the Army by vacating the Commissions of such as were suspected, and substituting others of more assured Fidelity.

The same Regulation was observed in regard to the Army commanded by *Monk*; tho'

1659. tho' he gave them Hints by a Letter, of the Danger of driving a Man to Extremities who was at the Head of 12,000 Men, and had all *Scotland* at his Difpofal.

The King fent Commiffioners to treat, in his Name, with all thofe Perfons who had been Enemies either to his Father or himfelf, that were willing to return to their Obedience. Thefe Commiffioners fpared neither Pains nor Promifes to gain the King Friends.

The Prefbyterians, at laft (being weary of the Tyranny of the Independent Parliament, and of an Army chiefly made up of Fanaticks; who under Colour of promoting Piety, and extending the Reign of Jefus Chrift, had only their own Advantages in view) came to an Union with the King's Party, to deliver the Nation from the Servitude under which it groaned.

The Royalifts formed a Defign of an Infurrection in feveral Parts of the Nation at once; and to fieze *Gloucefter*, *Lynn*, *Plymouth*, *Exeter*, and *Chefter*: but this Project vanifhed into Air like the reft. By the Treachery of Sir *Richard Willis*, who gave Information of the Plot, *Maffey*, the Lord *Willoughby*, of *Parham*, Sir *Horatio Townfend*, and Sir *George Booth*, were all taken and fent to Prifon: Sir *George* took *Chefter*; but it was foon re-taken by *Lambert*, who defeated his Handful of Men with fome Troops of Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s, who had joined him.

The

The Officers of the Army were highly displeased at the Parliament; and *Lambert* drew up a Petition, with the Approbation of *Fleetwood*, and an Addrefs was likewife prefented to the Parliament, in order to continue the General Council of Officers, and to continue *Fleetwood* General, whofe Commiffion was to expire in a few Months, with *Lambert* for his Lieutenant-General; with feveral other Articles by way of Regulation. 1659.

The Parliament was offended at this Petition; yet thought proper to return a mild Anfwer: But the General Council of Officers were informed of the Heats the Parliament had been in againft them; and fearing they fhould change the Conftitution of the Army, the Officers came to a Refolution of having their Addrefs figned by all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The Parliament hereupon returned Anfwers to every diftinct Article; and the Officers were given to underftand, that their Complaints were without any juft Grounds; and that the Parliament was neither under an Obligation, nor in the Humour, to give them an Account of their Conduct.

Lambert, feeing a Breach with the Parliament was likely to enfue, drew nigh *London* with his Forces: Whereupon the Parliament paffed an Act, declaring it High Treafon to levy Money upon the People without the Confent of the Parliament. The Drift of this

1659. this was, to take from the Army the Means of Subſiſtance.

Monk, a Clergyman, Brother to General *Monk*, coming from *Scotland*, informed the Parliament, that his Brother would enter *England*, in their Defence, whenever they ſhould order it.

This giving the Parliament Courage, they annulled *Fleetwood*'s Commiſſion, and diſcharged *Lambert*, *Deſborough*, and ſome other principal Officers. But theſe Steps not being backed with Power, the Officers received their Orders with Scorn.

LAMBERT marched with his Army into *Weſtminſter*, and ſecured all the Avenues leading to the Parliament Houſe: the Speaker was ſtopped in his Coach, going to the Houſe, by *Lambert*, and conducted back to his Houſe.

Then *Lambert* ſent to the Colonels of two Regiments, which the Council of State had ſent to guard the Parliament, to retire to their Quarters. They refuſed Obedience to his Orders; but were, with a contemptuous Smile, bid to take Care of their Poſt, and ſtay as long as they would.

At the ſame time all the Members were arreſted in their Paſſage by his Order; and next Day *Fleetwood* ſeized all the Poſts about *Weſtminſter-hall*, and placed a ſtrong Guard at the Door of the Parliament Houſe.

This Anarchy continued ten Days before the

the Officers, now Maſters of the Nation, 1659.
thought of ſettling any Form of Government; all they did, was to nominate Ten, out of their own Body, to form a Council; which was to take Care of the moſt urgent Affairs: Afterwards they declared *Fleetwood* their General, *Lambert* their Lieutenant-General, and *Deſborough* Commiſſary-General of the Horſe. A Diſcipline ſo exact was obſerved through the Troops, that it was wonderful to ſee Soldiers ſo ſubmiſſive in a State of ſo much Confuſion.

THIRTEEN Days after the Diſperſion of the Parliament, they agreed to eſtabliſh a Committee of Safety, conſiſting of 23 Perſons, and put the Government into their Hands.

Monk, who had all *Scotland* at his Command, was cloſely ſolicited by the Parliament and Officers; each endeavouring to gain him on their Side. At laſt, he determined his Choice on the Side of the Parliament, and, without any Evaſion or Excuſe, ſent his Reſolution to *Fleetwood*; and prepared for a ſpeedy March into *England* with Part of his Army.

All the Friends of the Rump Parliament united in order to join *Monk*, in ſuppoſition that his ſole Intent was to reſtore that Parliament; but his ſecret Intention was, to reſtore the King.

The Governor of *Portſmouth*, Colonel *Whetham*, *Monk*'s particular Friend, decla-

1659. red for the Parliament; and received into his Garriſon *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three Members the moſt incenſed againſt the Officers.

The Committee of Safety, upon the firſt Notice of this, ſent a Detachment of the Army to block up *Portſmouth*; but the Soldiers deſerted their Officers, declared for the Parliament, and were received into *Portſmouth* as Friends: Another Detachment ſent on the ſame Errand did almoſt the ſame Thing; ſo that the Committee knew not on whom to rely. At the ſame time *Lawſon*, Vice-Admiral, declared for the Parliament.

Lambert being informed of the ill State of their Affairs, detached a Regiment to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends in *London*; but that Regiment, at St *Alban*'s, declared for the Parliament.

The Committee of Safety ſeeing all Things go croſs, their Hearts ſeem'd to fail: they took no Meaſures for their Preſervation; but, inſtead of aſſembling their Army, ſuffered it to be diſperſed into its Quarters.

Mean while *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, put themſelves at the Head of the Troops that deſerted; and ſet forward for *London*. *Fleetwood* and the reſt of the Committee of Safety were quite at their Wits-end what to do; at laſt *Fleetwood* conſented to the meeting of the Parliament, and voluntarily reſigned their uſurped Authority. Their Conſent to this was immediately fol-

low-

lowed by the Flight of all their Adherents, and the entire Desertion of their Party. 1659.

THUS the Parliament met the 26th of *December*, and named a Committee to govern the Army in their Name. They sent to *Lambert* to disperse his Troops: but *Lambert*'s Troops, upon Notice that the Parliament was restored, in some measure prevented this Order, and put *Lambert* under Arrest; who was sent to the Tower of *London*. Thus the Parliament was restored before *Monk* had entered *England.*

Monk entered *England* the 2d of *January*, and consequently must then have known of the *Rump*'s Re-establishment: some Days after he received a Letter of Thanks from the Speaker, insinuating to him, that if he thought fit he might save himself the Trouble of coming to *London*. But this Letter gave no Interruption to his March. He formed a new Pretence; and that was, the assisting the Parliament to bring the Army to a Temper of Obedience. On his Arrival at *York* he found the Lord *Fairfax*, formerly General to the Parliament, at the Head of some Troops, and in Possession of this City; he received *Monk* kindly, and they had many Conferences together.

The Rumps, fearing that *Monk* had some hidden Design, formed a Council of State, consisting of 29 Members (*Monk* was one); and they all were to take an Oath to be true to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and

1659. to oppose the bringing in of the King, or the setting up of any single Person, or House of Lords.

This Precaution did not quiet the Fears of the Parliament with regard to *Monk*; it was resolved, therefore, to send two Deputies to him, under Pretence of doing him Honour, but in reality to be Spies. *Scot* and *Robinson* were the two Persons who came to him at *Leicester*. Here *Monk* received Deputies from *London* with an Address, praying the Restitution of the Members who had been excluded in the Year 1648. He had several Addresses, on the like Occasion, from different Parts: So that the generality of the Nation seemed to be for putting the Government into the Hands of the Presbyterians. It is very likely that these Addresses were the Consequence of a secret Agreement between the Royalists and Presbyterians; by which these last had consented to the King's Re-establishment, on Conditions relating to their Religion alone. Without this Supposition, the Steps afterwards taken, for the King's Restoration, can never be conceived; and with it all the Proceedings are natural and easy.

Monk had only 5000 Men; therefore, to execute his Designs the better, he always shewed a great Regard for the Parliament: by which he hindered them from turning their Thoughts upon joining with the Army.

When *Monk* was at St *Alban*'s he writ to

to the Parliament, to desire that the Regiments quartered in the City might be obliged to retire to a Distance; it not being convenient that Troops, which had been so lately in Rebellion against the Parliament, should mix with those which were entirely devoted to their Interest. Though this Demand was suspected by several Members, yet it was granted by a Majority of Voices: So little able were they in Politicks, that they could not perceive that *Monk*'s Intention was to become Master of the City and Parliament; or, they believed, that they had not sufficient Command over their Officers to venture to oppose him. 1659.

On the 3d of *February* 1659, *Monk* enter'd *London* as it were in Triumph. After he had given Orders for the quartering of his Troops, he repaired to the Council of State, who immediately tendered him the Abjuration Oath before mentioned; but he desired Time to resolve. Upon this Refusal, he was denied a Place amongst the Members of the Council of State, till he had taken the Oath, and was obliged to withdraw.

Three Days after, *Monk* went to the Parliament-house; and, after receiving the Compliments of the House, he made a Speech, intimating the several Addresses that had been made to him for the Admittance of the Members secluded before the Year 1648. He touched upon several other Things; whereby several of the Members were of Opi-

1659. Opinion, that he aſſumed too great an Authority, which laid him open to Suſpicion.

Two Days after, the Parliament had Opportunity to put *Monk*'s Fidelity to the Trial. The Common Council of *London* came to a Reſolution to pay no more Taxes till the Parliament was filled, well knowing *Monk*'s Deſign to reſtore them.

The Parliament, upon this, ordered *Monk* to lead his Army into the City, and apprehend 11 Members of the Common Council, and bring away the Chains, Gates, and Portcullices. *Monk* obeyed the Orders directly; which aſtoniſhed the City, who now looked upon him as their Enemy.

Monk perceiving his Error, in carrying his Diſſimulation too far, ſent his Confidant, *Clarges*, to the Mayor and Common Council, to acquaint them, that he was ſorry for what he had done, and deſired a Conference with them, to make Reparation for his Error: But *Clarges* could not prevail; for they now looked upon him as a deceitful Man.

Monk hereupon marched with his Forces into the City, to reconcile himſelf to the Magiſtrates, if poſſible. Before he marched, he writ to the Parliament, and peremptorily demanded, that by *Friday* next they would iſſue out Writs to fill up their Houſe; and, when filled, ſhould riſe at an appointed Time, to give Place to a full and free Parliament.

Monk made a Speech to the Common Council, and told them, he was obliged to

obey

obey the Parliament's Orders, or throw up his Commiſſion: But, to convince them of his Sincerity to ſerve them, he ſhewed a Copy of the Letter he had writ to the Parliament. This was ſufficient to appeaſe them; and the News being ſpread through the City, the Bells were rung, Bonfires made in all the Streets, and Numbers of Rumps thrown into them, in Deriſion of the Parliament. 1659.

Some Days after the Council of State ſent to deſire *Monk* to come and aſſiſt in their Councils, for regulating the Affairs of the Nation: but this Snare took not; he refuſed to go.

After *Monk* had cloſely united himſelf to the City, Petitions came thick from all Quarters, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the ſecluded Members in 1648. He well knew what Uſe was to be made of a Preſbyterian Parliament; tho' many, who ſigned the Petitions, imagined that Preſbyterianiſm was going to re-mount the Throne.

Monk fearing that Delays might produce an Accommodation between the Army and the Parliament, reſolved to introduce the ſecluded Members by Force; but obliged them to ſign Articles to call a free Parliament.

On the 21ſt of *February*, *Monk* repaired to the Houſe, attended by all the ſecluded Members; where they took their Places, without any previous Notice given to the ſitting Members. The Independent Members

1659. bers thought fit to withdraw, and abandon their Cause.

The same Day *Monk* writ circular Letters to all the Regiments, to assure them of the Zeal of the restored Members for the Interests of the Army, and to desire their Opposition to all Attempts to be made in favour of *Charles Stuart*. This last Clause was necessary to keep the Army in Temper.

This Parliament continued sitting but 25 Days; yet the Steps they took discovered they were by no Means disinclined to the King. They annulled all Votes and Orders made by the Parliament, since 1648, against the secluded Members: They ordered a general Discharge of all the imprisoned Friends of the King: They voted *Monk* to be General of the Armies of the three Nations: They repealed the Oath for the Abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, and all the Royal Family: They voted down the old, and appointed a new Council of State, composed of 31 Members, most of them Royalists: They took away all Commissions granted by the Republicans, and abrogated the Oath which obliged the Takers to be faithful to the established Government, without a King and a House of Peers; then dissolved themselves, after issuing out Writs for a free Parliament.

The Republicans now seeing that they were for restoring the King, to ward off this Blow, which could not but crush them entirely, jointly applied to *Monk* to take upon him the Government, and supply the Place of

of *Oliver Cromwell.* *Monk* having reſolutely rejected this Offer, they applied to *Clarges* to interceed with him to accept it: But *Clarges* diſcovered their Conſpiracy to the Council of State; who, if they had not been reſcued by *Monk*'s Interceſſion, would have puniſhed them with exemplary Rigour. 1659.

This Attempt failing, they privately ſpirited up a great Number of Officers, of their own Principles, to ſubſcribe a Declaration, by which they engaged themſelves to ſupport the Republican Government. This Declaration was brought to the General, to ſet his Hand to it; and they pretended to oblige the whole Army to ſign it: But *Monk* refuſed to ſign it, or to adhere to their Propoſals; and forbad them, with an Air of Authority, to aſſemble together, without his Permiſſion.

The Day after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, Sir *John Greenville*, ſent by the King to General *Monk*, was introduced to him in the Night. In this Conference *Monk* promiſed to ſerve his Majeſty to the utmoſt of his Power; but that it was proper to be kept ſecret till the Parliament ſummoned to meet ſhould compleat Matters. *Monk* alſo adviſed the King to remove to ſome Town in the United Provinces, and to have a Declaration ready, capable to diſſipate the Fears of the People, and to conſent to an Act of Grace in favour of all, but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by Parliament; and to promiſe an entire Liberty of Con-

1660. ſcience; and that no Perſon ſhould be moleſted on account of Religion, provided he gave no Diſturbance to the Publick Peace.

Monk, in the mean time, caſhired, under divers Pretences, ſuch Officers as he ſuſpected, and placed ſuch in their Room as he could confide in.

Lambert eſcaped out of the Tower, and put himſelf at the Head of ſome Troops. *Monk*, being afraid that all the Independent Party would join him, ſent *Ingoldſby* immediately, with *Monk*'s own Regiment, to give him Battle, before he could gather Strength; who defeated *Lmabert*, and brought him Priſoner again to the Tower.

Two Days after, the Republicans made another Attempt to prevent the King's Reſtoration, by diſperſing a forged Letter, dated at *Bruſſels*; in which it was ſaid, that the King only waited for his Reſtoration, to take a cruel Revenge upon all who had ever been his Enemies: But a Declaration was immediately publiſhed by the King's Party, which plainly diſcovered the Forgery to the Publick.

The new Parliament met the 25th of *April* in two Houſes; the one of the Lords, and the other of Commons, agreeable to the ancient Conſtitution. The greateſt Part of the Preſbyterian Members were no leſs zealous than the Royaliſts, for the King's Reſtoration; not perhaps ſo much out of Affection to him, as to deliver the Kingdom from the Tyranny of the Independents,

Fa-

Fanaticks, and Army, which had lasted 12 Years. 1660.

Two Days after the opening of the Parliament, *Greenville* waited on *Monk*, with a Commission from the King, constituting him General of all the Forces of the three Kingdoms; and, at the same Time, produced a Letter from his Majesty, to be communicated to the Council of State, and the Officers of the Army: But *Monk* excused himself from opening the Letter, till he had the Permission of the Parliament. *Greenville* applied himself to the Lords, and presented to them a Letter from the King, with a Declaration, dated the 14th of *April.*

In the Letter the King told the Lords, that being informed of their Re-establishment in their Rights, he hoped they would make a good Use of them, for putting an End to the Troubles of the Kingdom, restoring himself to his just Prerogatives, the Parliament to its Privileges, and the People to their Liberties. The Declaration contained in Substance what *Monk* had intimated before to the King; which being read, the Lords voted, that, according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.

Greenville then went to the House of Commons, with a Letter from the King, and the same Declaration inclosed; and the Commons readily concurred with the Vote of the Lords. And thus the King saw himself

1660. ſelf reſtored, without any of the Conditions, which had coſt ſo long a War, and ſo great an Effuſion of Blood.

The King being thus recognized, the Commons voted a Preſent of 50,000 *l.* to him, 10,000 *l.* to the Duke of *York*, and 5000 *l.* to the Duke of *Glouceſter*; Sums ſo large had never before been in the Diſpoſal of thoſe Princes. The City of *London* alſo ſent him 12,000 *l.*

The 8th of *May* the King was proclaimed; the 26th he arrived at *Dover*, and the ſame Day at *Canterbury*, where he honoured *Monk* with the Order of the Garter. The 29th he arrived at *Whitehall*, through infinite Crowds of People, all teſtifying, by the loudeſt Acclamations, their Joy on his Reſtoration.

26. *CHARLES* II.

ON the Arrival of the King, there was an entire new Scene of Things in *England*; Joy, Pleaſures, publick and private Rejoicings, ſucceeded to Trouble, Fear, and Conſternation. The People were ſo tired with the Manner of Life they had led for the laſt 20 Years, that they were of Opinion nothing worſe could ſucceed it.

The Royaliſts and Epiſcopalians ſaw themſelves raiſed at once to the Height of their Wiſhes; in beholding *Charles* II. placed upon the Throne of his Anceſtors, and the Church of *England* in a Way to reſume her former Luſtre.

The Preſbyterians flatter'd themſelves, that their late Services for the King would at the leaſt obtain for them an entire Liberty of Conſcience, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

The Republicans, Independents, and Anabaptiſts, could not indeed hope to ſee themſelves reſtored to the State they had been in for ſo many Years; but they, at leaſt, expected an entire Impunity, agreeable to the *Breda* Declaration.

1660. The Regicides, that is, the late King's Judges, were the only Perſons that could not but expect the Puniſhment they juſtly deſerved; and yet even they were not without Hopes of the King's Clemency.

Charles II. at the Time of his Reſtoration, was 30 Years of Age, and but little known to the greateſt Part of his Subjects, as his Life had been led out of his Dominions.

He had embraced the Catholick Religion before his Return into *England*, with the View to effect his Reſtoration by the joint Endeavours of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*: yet this Secret was known only by the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*; and was ſo well concealed, that the Publick knew nothing of it till after the Death of the King, when his Succeſſor, *James* II. was pleaſed to divulge it.

His Sentiments of Religion in general may be judged of by what Dr *Burnet* ſays of him, that he made no Manner of Scruple to communicate the ſame Day in two different Chapels, publickly in the Proteſtant, and privately in the Popiſh. Notwithſtanding all this, he never ſlipped an Opportunity of boaſting, in his Speeches to the Parliament, of his Attachment to the Proteſtant Religion, and his Zeal for its Advancement.

He had, beſides this, a Maxim not at all leſs dangerous than his Diſſimulation; this was, that, in his Opinion, there was no ſuch thing

thing as Honour or Virtue in the World; 1660.
but that the Actions of all Mankind were
merely govern'd by their Interest.

He was so abandoned to his Pleasures, that it was with Difficulty his Ministers prevailed with him to bestow a necessary Application to important Affairs; yet when he would apply to Business, he dispatched more in one Day than his Ministers in several.

As his Mistresses devoured great Part of his Time, they likewise consumed great Part of his Treasures. This threw him upon his Parliament, to ask extraordinary Supplies; and, to keep fair with the Commons, he was obliged to make frequent Promises, which he never intended to perform.

On the other hand, it can't be denied but he had many good Qualities, had he made a better Use of them. His Wit was lively, his Conception ready, and his Judgment exquisite. He knew the Interests of the *European* Princes better than any of his Ministers. He had applied himself, in the Time of his Exile, to the Study of Physick and the Mathematicks, and more particularly to Navigation and the building of Ships, in which he had made considerable Improvement; and yet it may be said, that his Reign was attended neither with Glory to himself, nor Happiness to his Subjects.

The Reason of this was, that because of his Attachment to his Pleasures, and his natural Laziness, he delivered himself entirely

up

1660. up to the Counſels of his Miniſters; and particularly of his Brother the Duke of *York*, who, during this whole Reign, had but too great an Influence upon the Reſolutions taken in Council.

The Duke of *York* was of a Temper naturally more active, violent, haughty, and vindictive. He had formed a Deſign, of raiſing the Royal Authority to a great Height, and, at the ſame Time, of reſtoring the Catholick Religion in *England*; eſpecially when he ſaw the King, his Brother, had no longer any Hopes of leaving behind him a legitimate Offspring. All the principal Events of this Reign depend properly upon the Humour and Character of theſe two Princes.

The King's firſt Buſineſs was to eſtabliſh a Council, compoſed chiefly of thoſe who had ſhewn the greateſt Zeal and Affection for himſelf, or the King, his Father.

Edward Hyde, Lord High Chancellor, and ſoon after created Earl of *Clarendon*, was, from the firſt, the King's Prime Miniſter; on whom, with great Reaſon, he relied with entire Confidence.

After the King was arrived in *England*, the Aſſembly, which had been honour'd with the Name of a Parliament, was no longer known by any other Appellation than that of a Convention: But this was of no long Continuance; for, two Days after his Arrival, he paſſed an Act to change the Convention into a Parliament.

This Parliament was looked upon as an Aſ-

ſembly, where the Preſbyterians had certainly a Superiority of Voices; conſequently a Preſbyterian Parliament reſtored the King to the Throne of his Anceſtors, and, during their ſhort Continuance, gave him effectual Marks of their Zeal for his Service, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace and Tranquillity throughout the Kingdom. 1660.

In order to put an End to all Troubles, it was thought convenient to paſs an Act of Indemnity for every thing that had happened during the late Wars, and to have all buried in eternal Oblivion.

This being done, the next thing was, to put the King in a Capacity to diſband the Army. Then they ſettled the King's Revenue, to enable him to ſupport the Government, and put him in a Condition to be courted and feared.

The Lords and Commons having preſented Addreſſes to the King, ſolemnly declared, that they accepted the gracious Pardon offered by his Majeſty in his Declararation from *Breda*; with Reſtrictions to ſuch Perſons as ſhould be thought proper to be excepted in the Act of Grace.

Immediately after, the King publiſhed a Proclamation; by which he declared, that all thoſe who ſat in Judgment upon the late King, and did not ſurrender themſelves within 14 Days, ſhould be abſolutely excluded from all Benefit of the Act of Indemnity. Upon this 19 of the late King's Judges ſurrendered themſelves; others with-

1660. drew out of the Kingdom, and ſome were taken in attempting an Eſcape.

The City of *London* invited the King, the two Princes, his Brothers, and both Houſes of Parliament, to an Entertainment; which, in Magnificence, was anſwerable to the Riches of the City that gave it, and the Quality of the Perſons invited.

The King paſſed an Act for a perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving on the 29th of *May*, the Day of his Majeſty's Nativity and Reſtoration.

After paſſing ſeveral other neceſſary Acts, relating to the diſbanding the Army, to the encouraging of Trade, Shipping and Navigation, and ſettling the King's Revenue, which was fixed at 1,200,000 *l.* a-year, more than any King had ever had, except *Henry* VIII. the Parliament adjourned till the 6th of *November*.

Now died the Duke of *Glouceſter*, Brother to the King, of the Small Pox. He was 20 Years of Age, and very much regreted by the King.

During the Adjournment of the Parliament, the King appointed Commiſſioners for the Trial of the Regicides; 19 whereof made their Eſcapes; ſeven, who had a leſs Share in the Crime, were made Objects of the King's Clemency, and 29 were condemned to die: but of theſe, 19, who had ſurrendered themſelves, had their Lives ſaved, but were reſerved for other Penalties, as Impriſonment, Baniſhment, and Forfeiture of

of their Eſtates; ſo that only 10 were executed, *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Cook*, *Peters*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, and *Axtel*. What was moſt remarkable in the Death of theſe Men, was, that not one of them ſhewed any Signs of Repentance, or did not think but he died a Martyr. 1660.

They were almoſt all Anabaptiſts, Enthuſiaſts, and Fifth-Monarchy-Men; who believed no ſort of Violence unlawful to advance the Reign of Jeſus Chriſt; and all Men of mean Birth, except *Carew* and *Scroop*.

The King publiſhed a Proclamation about Religion, of which the greater Part preſcribed certain Rules to the Biſhops in the Exerciſe of their ſpiritual Juriſdiction. By this Proclamation it was plain, that the Preſbyterians were not to continue long undiſturbed.

There were yet living nine of the old Biſhops, who were reſtored to their Sees, and others were conſecrated. Biſhopricks and Eccleſiaſtical Benefices were offered to the moſt eminent Preſbyterian Miniſters; but all refuſed, except *Reynolds*, who accepted of the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*.

Embaſſies came to the King from divers Princes of *Europe*, to congratulate him upon his Reſtoration.

In *October* the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* came to *London*, to congratulate the King, her Brother, upon his Reſtoration; and in *November* arrived from *France* the Queen-Mother, who brought with her the Princeſs *Henrietta*,

1660. *Henrietta*, her Daughter, and the Prince *Palatine Edward*, Brother to Prince *Rupert*. The Parliament meeting in *November*, made a solemn Deputation to the Queen-Mother, to congratulate her on her Arrival. Shortly after, the Commons made a Present of 10,000 *l.* to each of the young Princesses, her Daughters.

The Duke of *York* had, since his Return into *England*, married the Daughter of Chancellor *Hyde*, to which he had been, in some Measure, compelled, that young Lady being big with Child. The King, from the Regard he had for the Chancellor, pressed him to the Match: but the Queen-Mother, who hated the Chancellor, was not pleased with it.

The Parliament granted several Sums to the King for disbanding the Army; and as the Money came in, Regiments were broke. Thus the Army, which had so long kept *England* in Awe, was reduced to *Monk*'s single Regiment; which was the only one left upon the Establishment.

The King formed for his ordinary Guard two Regiments; one of Horse, and one of Foot, in Imitation of the Practice of *France* and other Kingdoms. This Novelty was disagreeable to many, who feared the King had ill Designs upon the Publick Liberty, since his Predecessors had no other Guards than the Gentlemen Pensioners established by *Henry* VII.

Mr *Alexander Popham*, who had a considerable

derable Influence in the Houſe of Commons, 1660.
made a Propoſal to the King, that he would undertake, if he would manage the Court Party, to have a perpetual Revenue of more than Two Millions ſettled upon him, which would free him of any Dependence upon his Parliament, except in extraordinary Caſes. The Propoſal pleaſed the King, and he ſpoke to the Chancellor of it; but he bravely anſwered, that the beſt Revenue his Majeſty could have, was the Affection of his Subjects; which, if he once was poſſeſſed of, Money would never be wanting to him. It is pretended, that the Chancellor's Oppoſition to *Popham*'s Project was one of the principal Cauſes of his Diſgrace.

The Parliament ordered the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Pride*, to be taken out of their Graves, drawn on a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, and there hung from Ten o'Clock till Sun-ſet, and then buried under the Gallows. At the ſame Time an Act of Attainder paſſed againſt theſe deceaſed, and thoſe who had fled.

The 29th of *December* the King gave the Royal Aſſent to 12 Acts of Parliament; then diſſolved the Houſe that had been ſo favourable, and ſhewn ſo much Zeal for his Intereſt.

It was thought the Miniſtry, and particularly the Chancellor, who was at the Head of it, looked with no good Eye upon a Parliament, which had ſo many Members of that of 1640; and the Chancellor, being

1660. a great Enemy to the Presbyterians, probably had formed a Design of depriving them of the Liberty promised to them; which could not be done if this Parliament had continued.

However this be, the King made a Speech, so full of Expressions of Thanks and Affection to his Parliament and People, that they were all pleased with it. After which the Chancellor made a Speech to both Houses, and dissolved them.

The Princess of *Orange*, the King's Sister, died the 24th of *December*, of the Small Pox, aged 29. She left but one Son, who was afterwards King of *England*, by the Name of *William* III.

It was likewise this Year, that the Royal Society was erected by Letters Patent from the King; who granted to it all necessary Encouragement towards a Discovery of the Secrets of Nature.

As to the Affairs of *Scotland*, that Kingdom having been conquered by the *English*, nothing would have been more easy at this Juncture, than to have left *Scotland* in Dependance upon the *English* Crown; yet the King came to a Resolution of restoring this Kingdom to its ancient Constitution, by making it a separate State, independent of *England*.

For this purpose *Monk* writ, in the King's Name, to the *English* Judges there, to discontinue their Functions; and the King issued out his Orders for a Convention of the Com-

Committee of the Eſtates, till a Parliament 1660.
could be called. He named the Great Officers of the Kingdom, and choſe Men moſt firmly devoted to him. The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellor; the Earl of *Crawford* was reſtored to the Treaſury; the Earl of *Caſſils* was made Juſtice-General; the Earl of *Lauderdale* Firſt Secretary of State; and General *Middleton* was declared the King's Commiſſioner. Thus the *Scots* were freed from the Yoke laid on them by *Cromwell.*

Some of the *Scots* Miniſters having met together, for the drawing up a Petition concerning their Grievances, were ſent to Priſon by the Committee of the Eſtates, without any Examination into the Nature of the Petition. This might have ſatisfied the Preſbyterians, who were the Bulk of that Nation, what was preparing for them.

The King, in his Declaration from *Breda*, had made no mention of *Scotland*; wherefore it came in Debate, whether the *Scots* ſhould enjoy the Benefit thereof? And tho' ſeveral of the Council were of Opinion, that it would turn to the King's Advantage to admit them; yet the contrary Advice prevailed. Chancellor *Hyde*, Prime Miniſter, was their great Enemy, and had the principal Direction of the King's Affairs.

The Marquis of *Argyll* being in *London* to pay his Duty to the King, was arreſted, ſent to the Tower, and afterwards to *Scotland*,

1661. *land*, to be tried there on an Impeachment of High Treaſon.

The 12th of *December* the King called a Parliament in *Scotland*, and publiſhed a Proclamation, declaring, that he left it entirely to this Parliament to examine into the Conduct of his Subjects of *Scotland*; and that, after Reparation made to his Honour, and his Prerogative eſtabliſhed, he would grant a Pardon.

As to *Ireland*, the King committed the Government of it to Sir *Morrice Euſtace*, Chancellor, and the Earls of *Orrery* and *Montrath*, in quality of Lords-Juſtices, till a Lord-Lieutenant ſhould be appointed.

The Year 1661 was uſhered in by an extraordinary Event; this was an Inſurrection of ſome Enthuſiaſts, who expected the Fifth Monarchy, or the Reign of Jeſus Chriſt upon Earth; and believed themſelves, in Conſcience, under Obligations to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to promote it.

The 6th of *January*, while the King was attending the Queen-Mother, and his Siſter, to *Dover*, in their Return to *France*, about 50 of theſe Men, under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, aſſembled in the Night, in St *Paul*'s Church-yard, and killed a Man who, to the Queſtion of *Who goes there?* had anſwered, *For God and the King*.

This gave Alarm to the City, who ſent a Detachment of its Militia againſt them, which were immediately defeated. This gave them time to march through divers

Streets:

Streets: but General *Monk* ſending a Detachment of Horſe and Foot, ſome Monarchy-men were killed, the reſt taken Priſoners, tried, condemned, and executed. *1661.*

The Court made Advantage of this Inſurrection to confirm ſome Rumours that had paſſed, of a Conſpiracy againſt the Government; and a Proclamation was iſſued, forbidding all ſorts of Meetings, and Conventicles, under colour of Religion; and commanding the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be taken.

This would not have occaſion'd a Prohibition to hold religious Aſſemblies, contrary to the expreſs Terms of the Declaration from *Breda:* but it will be plainly ſeen, that the Ruin of the Preſbyterian Party was already reſolved on; and that Pretexts were only wanting to execute this Deſign.

To ſucceed in this Deſign an admirable Expedient was contrived; this was, to range under the ſame Denomination all the Sects differing from the Church of *England*, in order to charge the whole Body with a Crime which only belonged to one Sect.

This Denomination was that of Diſſenters, or Nonconformiſts, and under it were comprehended all Sectaries; tho', the Truth is, the Preſbyterians only were properly aimed at, whoſe Ruin was reſolved on: For indeed it was not at all likely, that a King, who had privately embraced the Romiſh Religion, would ſet up for a Perſecutor of the Catholicks; yet it was neceſſary, the

1661. better to carry on the Deſign, to include them under the ſame Appellation.

The Preſbyterian Miniſters, obſerving that Endeavours were uſed to confound them with other Sects, petitioned the King for a Conference between them and the Biſhops, to examine the Differences, and to ſhew their Objections to the Book of Common Prayer.

The King for this Purpoſe named twelve Biſhops as Principals, and nine other Clergymen as Aſſiſtants; and on the Preſbyterian Side, twelve Miniſters as Principals, and nine others as Aſſiſtants, to confer together at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe, in the *Savoy*.

After a Diſcuſſion of the Objections and Anſwers, ſome ſlight Alterations in the Liturgy were agreed to; but as the Preſbyterian Miniſters wanted a Commiſſion from their Brethren, whatever they ſaid was look'd on as only their own private Opinion: For, in ſhort, the Conference broke off without any Thing being effected; and as it commonly happens on the like Occaſions, each threw the Blame on the other.

The King was magnificently crowned on St *George*'s Day, the 23d of *April*.

The Parliament met the 8th of *May*; the Repreſentatives, for the moſt Part, were returned agreeable to the Wiſhes, and by the Influence, of the Court; the greateſt Part were High-church-men, zealous Enemies to the Preſbyterians. In a word, it may be ſaid,

ſaid, this Parliament was packed by Chancellor *Hyde*, Prime Miniſter; who was on the 20th of *April* created Earl of *Clarendon*. This Parliament was called *The Penſionary Parliament*, becauſe, it was afterwards diſcovered, that many of the Members received Penſions from the Court; and it may be judged how favourable this Parliament was to the King, ſince it continued near 18 Years. 1661.

The Epiſcopalians, in this Reign, were diſtinguiſhed firſt by the Name of *High-flyers*, or *rigid Tories*. Theſe were much leſs Enemies to the Papiſts than to the Presbyterians; they hardly would allow the latter to be Chriſtians, becauſe they had no Biſhops.

The other Set embraced not the extravagant Principles of the former, either with relation to the Church or the Government. Theſe were known by the Denomination of *Whigs*, and had a Mixture of both Churchmen and Presbyterians.

At the Meeting of the Parliament the King made a Speech, full of Affection for his People; and communicated to them his intended Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*.

Sir *Edward Turner*, the Duke of *York*'s Solicitor-General, was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; afterwards the Houſe ordered all their Members to receive the Sacrament, according to the preſcribed Liturgy, upon Pain of being expelled the Houſe.

1661. The two Houſes ordered the Writing, called *The Solemn League and Covenant*, to be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman: Then ordered to be burnt, the Act for erecting a High Court of Juſtice for trying and judging *Charles Stuart*; the Act for ſubſcribing the Engagement againſt a King and Houſe of Peers; the Act for declaring the People of *England* to be a Commonwealth; and another for the Security of the Protector's Perſon.

The King came to the Houſe, and paſſed an Act, to confirm the Act of Indemnity; and an Act, to impower the King to receive from his Subjects a free and voluntary Contribution for his preſent Occaſions.

Another Act paſſed, for the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of twenty-one Regicides deceaſed; and to puniſh three who were ſpared, as to Life, but reſerved for other Penalties. Theſe were the Lord *Monſon*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and *Robert Wallop*: they were drawn upon Sledges, with Ropes about their Necks, to the Gallows at *Tyburn*; and then committed to perpetual Impriſonment.

Several other Acts were paſſed; one for the Safety and Preſervation of the King's Perſon and Government; another, to declare the ſole Right of the Militia to be in the King; another, to impower his Majeſty to diſpoſe of the Land Forces; another, to reſtore the Biſhops to their Seats in Parliament.

The Parliament in *Scotland* were alſo buſy

in

in settling the Laws there, agreeable to what was done in *England*; Episcopacy was restored, and the Government of the Church, by Archbishops and Bishops, as it stood in the Year 1637. 1661.

The Marquis of *Argyll* was tried, condemned, and beheaded. Many believed, that Revenge and Avarice of some Persons in Power, who hoped for the Confiscation of his Estate, were Motives more prevailing for his Sentence, than any Reasons from the Justice of it.

The City of *London* was now filled with Rumours of Plots and Conspiracies carrying on against the King's Person and Government: But Numbers were persuaded, that this was only an Artifice to incense the Parliament against the Nonconformists in general, and the Presbyterians in particular; and to afford a Handle to proceed against them.

The Treatment that the Presbyterians received, as well as the Independents, Anabaptists, and the rest of the Republicans, was the Occasion of the Plan of the Act of Uniformity; which was now formed, and will be spoken of hereafter.

The Earl of *Sandwich*, Vice-Admiral, being sent with a Fleet to *Lisbon*, to bring home the new Queen, appeared before *Algiers* to make a Truce with the Corsairs, or reduce them to Reason by Force; but he found them in such Readiness to receive him, that he was obliged

1661. obliged to return to *Lisbon* without any Thing done.

The Parliament being met, the King made a Speech, wherein after aſking the neceſſary Supplies, he added, that there were many wicked Inſtruments who laboured Night and Day to diſturb the Publick Peace; that it was worthy of their Care and Vigilance to provide proper Remedies for the Diſeaſes of that kind: that, as to the Difficulties which concerned Religion, they were too hard for him; ſo recommended them to their Care and Deliberation.

By this Speech the King departed abſolutely from his *Breda* Declaration, and the Act of Indemnity; which he had till now laid ſo great a Streſs upon: And this Speech was, as it were, a Signal to the Perſecution, which immediately after broke out, againſt the Nonconformiſts, and particularly the Presbyterians; who, properly ſpeaking, were ſolely aimed at.

What was ſaid by the Favourers of this Perſecution was, that tho' the King generouſly pardoned the Offences committed before the *Breda* Declaration; yet he did not promiſe to pardon ſuch as ſhould be afterwards committed: and Plots to diſturb the Government was now to be the Cauſe; tho', in fact, theſe Plots were never yet ſufficiently made out, nor was one Perſon either puniſhed or proſecuted for the ſame.

To prepare the Way for the intended Alteration, under Pretence of an imaginary Con-

Conſpiracy, the Parliament, to ſupport theſe Rumours, petitioned the King for a Proclamation, to order all Officers and disbanded Soldiers to depart twenty Miles from the City of *London*. 1661.

The ſame Day the Commons voted the King a Supply of 1,200,000 *l.* for his preſent Occaſions.

At a Conference between the two Houſes, the Earl of *Clarendon* affirmed poſitively, that there was a real Conſpiracy formed to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. The Lords, upon this Information of the Chancellors, named a Committee of twelve of their own Houſe, to whom the Commons added a proportionable Number, to examine into this horrible Conſpiracy.

The Chancellor named ſeveral Perſons, concerned in this Conſpiracy, and how it was to be executed; yet not one Perſon was either accuſed or proſecuted, tho' a numerous Committee of both Houſes were appointed to examine into the Affair.

It was, nevertheleſs, upon this alone that the Corporation Act, of which I ſhall ſpeak, and every Thing afterwards done againſt the Nonconformiſts, were built.

This Corporation Act was paſſed, and run, That in order to have the Succeſſion in Corporations perpetuated in the Hands of Perſons well affected to the Government; it was ordained, that every Mayor, Alderman, Common-council-man, and all Officers in a Corporation, ſhould, beſides the Oath of

1661. of Allegiance and Supremacy, take an Oath declaring, "That it was not lawful, upon "any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms "againſt the King, or againſt thoſe com- "miſſioned by him."

If the Oath had imparted, that it is not lawful, under any Pretence, to take up Arms againſt the eſtabliſhed Government, there had been nothing in it extraordinary: but in this Oath the King is ſuppoſed to be ſole Maſter of theGovernment; which is manifeſtly falſe, ſince he can neither make nor repeal a Law but in Conjunction with the Parliament.

The Report of the Committee, appointed to examine into the Conſpiracy, was made by the Earl of *Clarendon*; and ſays, that two Perſons, namely, *Wildman* and *Salmon*, were particularly engaged in the Plot, with 140 Officers of the late Army: yet the Proſecution of one ſingle Perſon does not appear.

This done, the Parliament paſſed ſeveral Acts; one for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; an Act for laying a perpetual and annual Tax of two Shillings on every Chimney-hearth in each Houſe; with ſeveral others not neceſſary here to mention.

By the Act of Uniniformity, every Miniſter was obliged to conform to the Worſhip of the Church of *England*, as ſet forth in the Book of Common Prayer, lately reviſed,

vised, upon Pain of losing all his Ecclesiastical Preferments. 1662.

An Act passed also, putting the sole Power of the Militia in the King and his Successors; and it was ordained by this Act, that all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Officers, and Soldiers, should take the following Oath, "I do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, or against those that are commissioned by him."

The Chimney Act raised the King yearly 256,000 *l.* this, together with the Tonnage and Poundage, Excise, and other Duties upon Merchandize, raised the King's Revenues to double of what his Predecessors had enjoyed: such were the Fears this Parliament had, of being wanting in their Zeal for Monarchy.

The Queen, Sister to the King of *Portugal*, arrived at *Portsmouth*; and was attended by the King to *London*. Before the Consummation of this Marriage, the King, in a Treaty with *Portugal*, engaged to assist that Kingdom against *Spain*; and in the 19th Article obliged himself never to restore *Dunkirk* to that Crown.

When this Marriage was compleated, the Queen-Mother arrived in *England*, with Design to end her Days here. The King assigned *Somerset* House for her Residence, and furnished her with Money, sufficient to keep a

1662. magnificent Court; yet, after three Years, ſhe returned to *France*.

Notwithſtanding the immenſe Sums that were raiſed for the King, his Coffers grew empty; and, to ſupply this Defect, he propoſed the Sale of *Dunkirk* to *France*; and after ſeveral Treaties, *Lewis* XIV. bought it for five Millions of Livres.

Dr *Burnet*, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, ſays, that *Charles* laviſhly ſpent the Money, which he received for the Sale thereof, in Preſents to his Miſtreſſes. Others have aſſured us, that with one Part he diſcharged his Siſter's (the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*) Dowry; and with the other aſſiſted the Crown of *Portugal*.

Three of the late King's Judges, who had found Means to eſcape out of the Kingdom, were taken in *Holland*, brought over to *England*, and executed at *Tyburn*; their Names were *Corbet*, *Okey*, and *Berkſtead*.

Sir *Henry Vane*, and General *Lambert*, who had been expreſly excepted out of the Act of Pardon, were alſo tried and condemned. A Pardon came to *Lambert*, when his Sentence was paſſing; but *Vane* was beheaded. It was feared, that he would inſiſt upon the King's Promiſe, which pardoned all but thoſe that were the King's Judges, he not being of that Number: and, to ſave the King's Honour, a great Number of Drummers were placed near the Scaffold; who, as ſoon as he began to ſpeak, upon a Signal given, ſtruck up with their Drums.

Great

Great Care was taken, after his Death, to 1663.
publish the King's Inclination to have pardoned him, if he had not been provoked by fresh Insolence.

St *Bartholomew*'s Day being come, on which the Act of Uniformity was to begin to be put in Execution, 2000 Presbyterian Ministers chose rather to quit their Livings than submit to the Conditions of this Act. There was not one but what stood out, which was extremely surprizing; but their Leaders took great Pains to let none be tempted.

Commissioners were sent to put in Execution the Corporation Act, before spoke of; and they turned every Man out of Office that was not entirely devoted to the King, and the Church of *England*: Moreover, the Walls of *Gloucester*, *Coventry*, *Northampton*, *Leicester*, and *Taunton*, were, by Order of these Commissioners, razed to the Ground; because those Towns had distinguished themselves by their Fidelity and Zeal for the Parliament.

About the End of the Year a Conspiracy was discovered, carried on by the Fifth Monarchy-men; and, upon the Information of some of the Accomplices, six were executed. Neverthelefs, many believed this was only an Artifice, to excuse the Rigour practised against the Nonconformists.

Vice-Admiral *Lawson* sailed with a Squadron to *Algiers*, and forced the *Algerines* to a Peace with *England*: and the King, who was in Possession of *Tangier*, declared it a

free

1663. free Port, and invested it with great Privileges.

The Presbyterians presented a Petition to the King and Council, to desire a Dispensation from the Penalties of the Act of Uniformity: This Petition would doubtless have been rejected, if the King had not signified to the Council the Obligation he was under to grant their Request.

The King meant to procure some Advantages to the Presbyterians, with a View to do the like for the Papists. This was his Scheme; and as it was directly contrary to the Principles of the Earl of *Clarendon*, (mortal Enemy of the Presbyterians, and no Friend to the Papists) it is not at all surprizing that it was formed without the Privity of this Minister; whose Credit, for this very Reason, began from that Time to decline.

The King obliged Secretary *Nicholas*, who was worn out with Age, and a great Friend to the Chancellor, to resign his Post to Sir *Henry Bennet*, professed Enemy to *Clarendon*; strongly suspected of being a Papist in his Heart, and known openly for their Protector. The Chancellor fully looked upon this as the Beginning of his own Disgrace.

The King's Declaration, which he had issued in favour of the Presbyterians, was a further Indication of the Fall of the Chancellor; tho' this pretended Compassion for the

the Presbyterians, had only an Intention to procure a Toleration for the Catholicks. 1663.

The Parliament finding by this Declaration, and a Speech made to them, that the King wanted to dispense with the Act of Uniformity, and set it aside as oft as he should think convenient, thought proper to address his Majesty; in which Address they expressed, that they thought it in no sort advisable that there should be any Indulgence to such Persons who presume to dissent from the Act of Uniformity, and the Religion established. The Lords seconded this Address with one from their House; and added, that his Majesty's Lenity for the Papists had drawn into the Kingdom great Numbers of Romish Priests and Jesuits.

This put the King upon issuing a Proclamation in favour of the established Religion, and for the using and applying all proper and effectual Remedies to hinder the Growth of Popery; both which, he declared to both Houses, he looked upon as the best Expedients to establish the Peace and Prosperity of all his Kingdoms.

Tho' the Commons had settled the King's Revenue at 1,200,000 *l.* yet in a flattering, pathetick, and affectionate Speech to them, he demanded a present Supply of Money; without which, he assured them, it was impossible for him to extricate himself out of the Difficulties he was in. The Commons, upon this, granted him four entire Subsidies; and

1664. and the Clergy, in Convocation, did the like.

The Earl of *Bristol*, a professed Papist, was resolved to do what he could to ruin the Chancellor; without which, he was afraid, all Measures used in favour of the Catholicks would be broke: This made him draw up Articles of Impeachment against him; which were presented to the House of Lords, but unanimously rejected.

The Parliament granted to the Duke of *York* the Revenues of the Post Office and Wine Licences; which enabled him to keep a separate Court.

The 27th of *July* the King gave his Assent to the Subsidy Act, and some others; then prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *March* following.

A Conspiracy was discovered, carried on by the old Commonwealth-men and Independents, with Design to restore the Republican Form of Government; but one of the Accomplices making the Discovery, many were apprehended, and twenty-one convicted and executed.

This Year died Dr *Juxon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and was succeeded by *Sheldon*, Bishop of *London*.

The Parliament meeting in *March*, the King, in a Speech to both Houses, demanded a Repeal of the Triennial Act, made in 1641; which was accordingly done.

For some time past the King had resolved on a War with *Holland*; but it is difficult to

come

come at the true Reaſons of this Reſolution: 1664.
the Cauſes alledged were only general, except the taking of two Ships in the *Eaſt Indies*. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that the *Dutch* were the Aggreſſors; and, being encouraged by Promiſes of great Aſſiſtance from *France*, watched Opportunities for a Breach with *England*.

Vice-Admiral *Holmes* was ſent, with a Squadron of fourteen Men of War, to take all poſſible Advantages againſt the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company. *Holmes* made himſelf Maſter of Fort St *Andrews*, and moſt other Places belonging to the *Dutch* in the Neighbourhood of *Cape-Verd*.

The States inſiſting on a Right of Fiſhery on the *Britiſh* Coaſts, *Charles* was ſeeking a Quarrel with the *Dutch* on account of this Fiſhery; but finding that *France* was expreſly engaged in the Guarantee of it, he himſelf entered into an Alliance with the *Dutch* this very Year, in Expectation of ſome more favourable Opportunity.

The Presbyterians alone exceeded in Number all other Sects put together; and from the Time of the Reſtoration, they had never been accuſed of making any Inſurrection againſt the Government, or of having entered into the Conſpiracies of the Anabaptiſts and Republicans: nevertheleſs, an Act was made, to ſubject them to ſeveral Penalties, which were laid on the other Sects; and, on Pretence that their religious Meetings were Seminaries of Sedition, and their Doc-

1664. Doctrines pernicious to the Government in Church and State; their Meetings were forbid under Penalty of being transported into *America*, if they met a third Time after the making of this Act.

The War with *Holland* being fully resolved upon, the King borrowed 100,000 *l.* of the City of *London*, and put a Fleet to Sea under the Command of the Duke of *York*, as High Admiral. This Fleet met in *November* with the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet, homeward-bound, laden with Wine and Brandy, and took 130 of them; which were brought into *England*, and condemned for lawful Prizes, tho' War had not yet been proclaimed.

After this the King made a Speech to the two Houses, setting forth the Necessity of this War upon the account of Trade, and demanded a Subsidy for the maintaining thereof. The Commons, upon this, voted the King a Supply of 2,500,000 *l.*

Soon after, the King published a Declaration, by which he empowered his Subjects to make Reprizals upon all Ships belonging to the *Dutch* Companies, and others, the Subjects of the States-General.

After the *Bourdeaux* Fleet had been seized and condemned, the *English* kept no Measures, but took all the *Dutch* Ships which came in their Way, tho' War was not yet proclaimed.

The States being informed of the Hostilities committed by *Holmes* at *Cape Verde* and *Guinea*,

Guinea, they diſpatched an Expreſs to *Ruyter*, their Admiral, then in the *Mediterranean*, to ſail directly towards theſe Coaſts, to recover what the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company had loſt. *Ruyter* executed this Order with great Vigour, and re-took moſt of the Forts the *Engliſh* had taken from the Company. He likewiſe ſeized ſeveral Ships belonging to the *Engliſh*. 1665.

This News reaching *London*, *Charles* declared War againſt *Holland* in due and uſual Form; ſetting forth numberleſs Injuries and inexpreſſible Damages which the *Engliſh* had ſuffered from the *Dutch*, without mentioning any Particulars.

In *March* the Duke of *York* repaired to the Fleet which he was to command, conſiſting of 107 Men of War, and 14 Fire-ſhips; but it did not ſail till *May*.

The States ſolicited the King of *France* to declare againſt *England*, purſuant to a Treaty made in 1662 between *Holland* and *France*; and *Charles*, on his Side, ſolicited him to abandon the States, and laid before him very tempting Advantages, which made *Lewis* at a Stand; and he took Time to deliberate upon it.

The Duke of *York* put to Sea; and before the *Dutch* Fleet could be got together, he alarm'd the Coaſts of *Holland*, and took ſeveral *Dutch* Ships as they were returning home, and had heard nothing of the War. After this the Duke ſailed with Deſign to

1665. fall upon *Ruyter*, who was returning to *Holland* by an Order from the States.

Mean time the *Holland* and *Zealand* Squadrons joined, and formed a Fleet of 121 Men of War, besides Fire-ships, under the chief Command of *Obdam de Wassenaer*, who received Orders to fight the Enemy, and came up with them the 1st of *June*, not far from *Harwich*.

Obdam discovered the *English* Fleet divided into three Squadrons. The first, under the Red Flag, was commanded by the Duke of *York*, assisted by *Penn* and *Lawson*. The second, being the White Squadron, was under the Conduct of Prince *Rupert*, assisted by *Minnes* and *Sampson*. The third, which was the Blue Squadron, was under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who had with him *Cuttings* and Sir *George Ayscough*.

In this Engagement the *Dutch* Fleet was beaten, chiefly by the ill Conduct of several Captains, *Obdam* being killed. They lost 19 Ships, and about 6000 Men. The *English* lost four Ships, and about 1500 Men; among whom were the Earl of *Falmouth*, Admiral *Sanson*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and Vice-Admiral *Lawson*; as also the Lord *Muskerry* and the Honourable Mr *Boyle*. These two, with the Lord *Falmouth*, were killed by the same Cannon Ball.

The Duke of *York*, after this Victory, returned to *England*, and rid Post to *Whitehall* to receive the Acclamations of the Court and Citizens of *London*. The King appointed a Day

Day of Thanksgiving throughout the Kingdom for the Victory; and several Medals were struck in Honour of the victorious Duke of *York*, who was now in the Height of his Glory: For, besides that, he was Lord High Admiral, Governor of the Cinque-Ports and of *Portsmouth*, and had the Benefit of the Post-office and Wine Licences, which, altogether, enabled him to keep a splendid Court. He had an Advantage still far more considerable. This was the Regard paid him as Presumptive Heir to the King, his Brother, who had no Children by his Queen. This tied Numbers to his Interests; particularly the Papists, who knew his Religion; tho' he, as well as the King, kept it yet a Secret. 1665.

The Queen-Mother returned to *France*, where she ended her Days.

The King and Council did not think it proper to expose the Duke of *York* to the Dangers of a second Engagement: Therefore, the Command of the Fleet was given to the Earl of *Sandwich*; and the States put *Ruyter* in the Place of *Obdam*.

The *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and several *East-India* Ships, not daring to come into the Channel, retired to the Port of *Bergen*, in *Norway*, waiting for *Ruyter* to convoy them to *Holland*.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *English* Envoy at the Court of *Denmark*, prevailed with the King of *Denmark* to suffer the Ships to be seized there, upon an Agreement that the

Spoil

1665. Spoil was to be divided between the two Kings.

The Earl of *Sandwich* had Orders directly given to ſail with his Fleet upon this Expedition; and, upon his Arrival at *Bergen*, detached a Squadron, commanded by Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, who fell upon the *Dutch* with great Reſolution: But the Governor of *Bergen*, who had not early enough received Orders about the Affair, fired upon the *Engliſh* Squadron from the Citadel, and almoſt entirely ruined them; ſo that *Tiddiman* was obliged to return to the Fleet without Succeſs. It appears, that the King was not pleaſed with the Conduct of the Earl of *Sandwich*; becauſe, inſtead of continuing him in the Fleet, he was ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*.

Mean while *Ruyter* arrived in *Holland* with a great many *Engliſh* Prizes. His Fleet conſiſted of 93 good Ships, and ſailed to *Bergen*, to conduct the Merchant-men home; but being diſperſed by a Storm, 20 of them fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*.

The Plague in *London* this Year ſwept away 100,000 Souls, and the King went to reſide at *Saliſbury*.

It appears, that this Year the Republicans had formed a Deſign for an Inſurrection, and were even encouraged by Emiſſaries from the States-General; but this had no other Effect than to injure the Non-conformiſts.

The Biſhop of *Munſter*, being hired by the King

King of *England*, fell upon the *Dutch* at the 1666.
Head of an Army: But the States having the Aſſiſtance of *France*, and the Money promiſed by *Charles* not being well paid, the Biſhop was obliged to ſtrike up a Peace.

The Parliament was obliged to meet at *Oxford*, on account of the Plague; and the King made his Speech, in which he demanded freſh Supplies for the carrying on of this War.

The Commons ſoon after voted 1,200,000*l.* to continue the War, and 120,000*l.* to the Duke of *York*, for the great Service he had done the Nation.

The Commons paſſed a Bill, called *The Five-Mile Act*. It contained in Subſtance, "That no Non-conformiſt Teacher was to "dwell or come, unleſs upon the Road, "within five Miles of any Corporation, or "any other Place where they had been Mi-"niſters, unleſs they firſt took an Oath not "to take up Arms againſt the King; nor "to endeavour for any Alteration of Go-"vernment, either in Church or State."

The Preſbyterian Miniſters in *Scotland* were perſecuted with the ſame Rigour: None were to reſide within 20 Miles of the Place where they had been Miniſters; nor within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any Cathedral Church, nor within three Miles of any Royal Borough.

The King of *France*, preſſed by the repeated Inſtances of the States-General, declared War againſt *England*.

The

1666. The King of *Denmark* alſo joined the States, and furniſhed the Allies with a Fleet of 30 Men of War. The States were to pay him 1,500,000 Florins, 300,000 of which were to be paid by the King of *France*.

The King returning to *London*, declared War againſt *France*. A few Days before the Queen had a Miſcarriage.

The Command of the *Engliſh* Fleet was given to Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*. It conſiſted of 78 Ships of the Line, beſides Frigates and Fire-ſhips.

The Fleet of the States, commanded by *Ruyter*, conſiſted of 71 Ships of the Line, 12 Frigates, 13 Fire-ſhips, and eight Yachts, and came to anchor between *Newport* and *Dunkirk*. *Ruyter* had under his particular Command the Squadron of the *Maeſe*; that of *North-Holland* and *Frieſland* was commanded by *Evertzen*, and that of *Zealand* by *Tromp*. The *Engliſh* having a fair Wind, ſet Sail, in order to fall upon the Enemy; who, on their Side, cut their Cables, to be the ſooner in a Readineſs to receive them.

Tromp's Ship was ſo diſabled at the firſt, that he was obliged to go on board another, and *Ruyter* had the ſame Fate, and *Evertzen* was killed by a Cannon Ball.

Notwithſtanding this, the *Dutch* had the Advantage the firſt Day; for *Ruyter* ſunk five *Engliſh* Ships. One *Dutch* Ship was blown up by the Powder taking Fire.

The ſecond Day the *Engliſh* had ſtill the Diſ-

Disadvantage, by losing eight of their largest Ships either sunk or burnt, and six taken, with Sir *George Ayscough*, Admiral of the White. 1666.

This Fight lasted four Days; and the *English* lost 23 great Ships, besides several others of less Note, and 6000 Men killed, and 2600 made Prisoners.

The *Dutch* lost six Ships, 2800 Soldiers, and 80 Sailors. Tho' the Victory was so evidently on the Side of the *Dutch*, Bonfires and Rejoicings were made at *London*, as if the *English* had been victorious.

The two Fleets were not long before they put to Sea again, and fought a furious Battle, where the Victory was obstinately disputed. *England* had more than 100 Sail, and the States 88 Ships of the Line, besides 19 Fire-ships.

While *Ruyter* and young *Evertzen* engaged the Red and White Squadrons, *Tromp*, after a long Dispute, dispersed the Blue Squadron, commanded by Sir *Jeremy Smith*; but, by an unpardonable Fault, instead of keeping close to the Fleet, he amused himself with pursuing the flying Ships of the Enemy. On the other hand, young *Evertzen*, who commanded one of the *Dutch* Squadrons, was killed with a Cannon Ball, and his Squadron entirely defeated. Soon after, the three *English* Squadrons joined, and fell upon *Ruyter*, who never shewed so much Bravery and Capacity as in this Engagement, *Ruyter* complained much of

Tromp's

1666. *Tromp*'s Conduct; and the States put him under an Arrest.

As to the last Engagement, the *Dutch* Fleet had been dispersed, part having retired to *Flushing*, and part to the *Texel*. The Duke of *Albemarle* finding himself Master of the Sea, detached 20 Men of War to insult the Coasts of *Holland*. *Holmes*, who commanded these Ships, burnt 100 Sail of Merchant-men, and two Men of War designed for Convoys.

The *French* Fleet, commanded by the Duke of *Beauford*, had been in the *Mediterranean*, and never yet had joined the *Dutch* till the latter End of the Year; which made it imagined, that *Lewis* XIV. did not join them with Sincerity.

The Misfortune which this Year befell the City of *London*, I mean the terrible Fire which laid so great a Part of the City in Ashes, gave a new Handle to the Enemies of the Republicans to charge them with being the Authors.

This Fire consumed 89 Churches, the City Gates, *Guildhall*, many publick Structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, 13,200 Dwelling-houses, and 400 Streets. Three Days after, when this fatal Fire had bafled all human Councils, and endeavoured to overcome it, it stopt, as it were, by a Command from Heaven, and was on every Side extinguished.

Men failed not to give a Scope to their Imagination, and to form Conjectures upon the

the Causes and Authors of this Burning. 1666.
The pious and religious ascribed it to the just Vengeance of Heaven, on a City where Vice and Immorality reigned so openly, and which had not been sufficiently humbled by the raging Pestilence of the foregoing Year. Some again ascribed it to the Malice of the Republicans, others to the Papists; yet no sufficient Proof was made what was the real Occasion.

The Parliament being again met, the King, in a Speech, demanded fresh Supplies. Soon after the Commons, still liberal, voted the King a Supply of 1,800,000 *l.* Thus, in the Space of two Years, this War cost *England* 4,450,000 *l.*

The two Houses beginning more plainly to discover, that the King was not a zealous Protestant, and that the Papists had a considerable Influence in his Council, presented an Address, praying him to put the Laws in execution against Romish Priests and Jesuites, who took indefatigable Pains to pervert his Subjects. This occasioned the issuing of a Proclamation, for banishing out of the Kingdom all Priests and Jesuites, on pain of being prosecuted according to Law. Proclamations of this Nature were frequent; but little Rigour used in putting the Laws in execution.

The Rigour exercised against the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, caused some of the most impatient to rise in Arms, to the Amount of about 1500; who were beaten and disper-

1666. fed by the King's Forces. Three Hundred were killed, and One Hundred made Prisoners, and most of them executed.

The *English* Presbyterians were charged with holding a Correspondence with them; but no Proof was made of any such thing.

The Commons accused the Lord *Mordaunt*, Governor of *Windsor* Castle, of some arbitrary and tyrannical Actions. When the Commons attended the Bar of the House of Lords with the Articles, they were much disgusted at the Lords, that the accused Person was suffered to take his Place amongst the Peers whilst his Accusation was reading. The Commissioner appointed to levy the Poll-tax had an Oath imposed upon him by the Commons, which the Lords looked upon as a Breach of their Privileges. This was the Subject of divers and fruitless Conferences.

I shall now speak of the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, which was actually, tho' secretly, negotiating at the Time that the Parliament granted the last Supply: and *Charles* well knew it was in his Power to make an advantageous Peace; but the Time was prolonged, in all Probability, to secure the Receipt of the 1,800,000 *l.* granted by Parliament for the Continuance of the War.

The States, to facilitate the Peace, offered *Charles* his Choice, either that each Party should restore to the other what had been taken, or both keep what they were in actual Possession of.

As soon as the Money-bill was passed, all

all Difficulties about a Peace vaniſhed; for *Charles* conſented, that Things ſhould remain in the State to which the Fate of Arms had reduced them, the Difference of theſe two Choices being conſiderable. 1667.

Breda was the Place appointed for the Congreſs; and *Charles*, relying on the Certainty of the Peace, put all his great Ships out of Commiſſion, and kept only a Squadron of about 20 Sail, while the States continued their Preparations as uſual.

A Difficulty ariſing, whether ſome Ships, which were taken by *England* before War was declared, ſhould remain with *Charles*, the States believed, or rather pretended to believe, that *Charles* had no Mind to make a Peace.

But, in reality, they finding that they had an Advantage, reſolved to force *Charles* to drop his Pretenſions to theſe Ships; ſo ordered *Ruyter* to ſet Sail directly to the Mouth of the *Thames*.

Then he diſpatched Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent*, with 17 of his lighteſt Ships, and ſome Fire-ſhips, up the *Medway*; who made himſelf Maſter of the Fort of *Sheerneſs*: and after he had burnt the Magazines full of Stores, to the Value of 40,000 *l.* blew up the Fortifications.

This gave an Alarm to the City of *London*; and, to prevent further Miſchief, ſome Ships were ſunk, and a large Chain thrown acroſs the River in the narroweſt Place.

By favour of an eaſterly Wind, and a ſtrong

1667. ſtrong Tide, the *Dutch* Ships broke the Chain, and ſailed between the ſunk Veſſels. They immediately burnt three large Ships, taken from them this preſent War, beſides ſeveral others. They afterwards ſailed as far as *Chatham*, and burnt ſeveral Ships there.

The City, in this Conſternation, complained openly againſt the King, that, out of pure Avarice, he had kept the Money ſo generouſly given him to continue the War, and left his Subjects to the Inſults of the Enemy: However, they planted great Guns on the Banks of the River, to hinder the *Dutch* Fleet from ſailing up to *London* Bridge.

After this Exploit, *Ruyter* ſailed to *Portſmouth*, *Torbay*, and *Harwich*, where he did ſome Damage, and kept the Coaſts of *England* in continual Alarms, till he received the News of the Concluſion of the Peace.

This Event had given ſuch a Turn to Affairs, that it was no longer Time for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at the *Hague* to ſtand upon Punctilios; ſo calmly gave up the Article of the Ships; and the 21ſt of *July* the Treaty of Peace was ſigned. Each Party was to keep all they had in Poſſeſſion.

Complaints and Murmurs againſt the King and his Miniſters now ſucceeded; and *Charles* became much ſuſpected in regard to his Conduct for the Nation's Good. In ſhort, it was more and more diſcovered, that the Papiſts had a great Influence in the Court, and the Laws not executed according to Proclamation.

The

The Earl of *Arlington*, the almoſt decla- 1667.
red Protector of all the Papiſts, was made Secretary of State, and in great Favour; while the Earl of *Clardendon*, their Enemy, daily declined in Credit. This began to produce Suſpicions, little advantageous to the King.

Beſides, the licentious Life he led was odious. His Court was the moſt vicious that could be. His Miſtreſſes ruled abſolutely; and nothing was tranſacted, but through their Means. They ſwallowed up his vaſt Revenues, and moſt of the extraordinary Supplies granted him by Parliament.

Theſe Suſpicions and Complaints coming to the King's Knowledge, he reſolved to lay them, by ſacrificing the Earl of *Clarendon*, who had hitherto been Prime Miniſter.

The Chancellor's regular Life, his Averſion to all Debaucheries, his Neglect of the King's Favourites and Miſtreſſes, and his Principles and Maxims with regard to Religion and the State, were but little agreeable to the diſorderly Lives of the whole Court, who were all ſet upon his Ruin.

The chief Cauſes of the Chancellor's Diſgrace were as above; and alſo,

I. The King being deſirous to make a Divorce with the Queen, upon Allegations not well ſupported, could not obtain the Chancellor's Approbation. The King's Intention, by this Divorce, was to marry Mrs *Stuart*,

1667. *Stuart*, his Relation, of whom he was exceeding amorous; and *Clarendon*, to frustrate this Matter, got her married to the young Duke of *Richmond*, by representing to him how much it would gain him the King's Favour. The King was so vexed at it, that he banished the new-married Pair from the Court.

II. His Rigour against the Papists, who were now coming into Favour, contributed very much to his Disgrace.

III. He opposed the settling of an annual Revenue of Two Millions of Pounds upon the King; which was *Popham*'s Project, and seconded by the Earl of *Southampton*.

IV. He laid out 50,000 *l.* in the building of a stately House, which the People called *Dunkirk-house*. This did him Injury in the Minds of the Populace; it being supposed, that some of the Money received for the Sale of that Place, by his Advice, was here laid out.

However these Things may be, the King, under colour of giving Satisfaction to his People in the Sacrifice of this Minister, deprived him of his Office of High Chancellor, and made Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

The Earl of *Southampton*, the Treasurer, dying three Months before the Chancellor's Disgrace, the King was at once deprived of two great and faithful Ministers, whose Loss was never repaired, at least with relation to

their

their Morals, their Religion, and their Affection for their Country. 1667.

After the Earl of *Southampton*'s Death, the King put the Treasury into Commission. Among the Commissioners was Sir *Thomas Clifford*, a Papist, afterwards made Lord High Treasurer.

The Commons, after this, drew up an Impeachment against the Chancellor, containing a great many Articles, and presented it at the Bar of the House of Lords, and demanded that he should be sent to the Tower.

The Lords did not think proper to commit him upon an Accusation so general as this was, before they had examined how it was supported; which raised a hot Dispute between the two Houses.

The Earl of *Clarendon* seeing himself the Mark of the Commons' Rage, and well knowing that the King and the whole Court were his Enemies, withdrew into *France*.

However, he left behind him an Apology, which contained his Defence to the Impeachment; but the Commons voted it scandalous and malicious, and order'd it to be burnt by the common Hangman. Soon after the Lords sent a Bill to the Commons for the Banishment of the Earl of *Clarendon*; but they proposed a Bill of Attainder; yet the first prevailed, and had the Royal Assent. Thus was he sacrificed to the Hatred and Malice of his Enemies, without any just Cause appearing against him.

From

1667. From the Quality of a private Person and a Lawyer, he rose to the highest Point of Fortune. His Merit raised him to the Dignity of Earl, of Lord High Chancellor, and of Prime Minister of State: But that which gives a further Addition to his Glory, is the Marriage of his Daughter with the Duke of *York*; from which Bed proceeded two Princesses, successively Queens of *England*. He spent the rest of his Days in Banishment, and died at *Roan* in *December* 1674, aged 67.

In *October* the King went in great State to lay the first Stone of the Foundation of the Royal Exchange.

To put a Check to the over-growing Power of *France*, who had almost reduced all *Flanders* to its Power, *Charles* II. the States-General, and the King of *Sweden*, enter'd into a treble Alliance, the most important that had been made for many Years in *Europe*. It even received the Applause of all *Europe*, except *France*.

The Parliament meeting, the King made a Speech, and informed the House of the League offensive and defensive he had made; and demanded a Supply to fit out a Fleet, in consequence of the new Alliance.

The Commons joyfully received the News of the treble Alliance; but before they proceeded to the Consideration of the King's Speech, they began to examine into the Mismanagement of the late War.

The King was doubly concerned to put an End to these Examinations, because the greatest

greateſt Part of the Miſcarriages reflected upon him, tho' only ſome certain Officers were directly accuſed. The King therefore ſent three ſeveral Meſſages to the Houſe of Commons, to go upon the Money Bill. 1668.

A great Difference broke out juſt now between the two Houſes, occaſioned by Mr *Skinner*, a Merchant in *London*; who, believing he had juſt Cauſe of Complaint againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, brought the Matter originally into the Houſe of Lords; who, upon Examination, gave 5000 *l.* Coſts againſt the Company.

The Company petitioned the Commons, who ſent *Skinner* to the Tower for applying to the Lords, where the Common Law ought to have determined the Affair. The Lords voted this Petition ſcandalous; and the Commons voted, that whoever ſhould put the Sentence of the Lords in execution, ſhould be deem'd a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of *England*, and an Infringer of the Privileges of the Houſe.

The Commons having paſſed the Money Bill for raiſing 310,000 *l.* by Impoſition on Wines and other Liquors, prorogued the Parliament.

The treble Alliance was ſoon followed with a Peace concluded at *Aix-la-Chapelle* between *France* and *Spain*; and the States in Alliance were Guarantees of this Peace; and all other Princes and States were allowed to be ſo too, if they pleaſed.

1668. After the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Scene was entirely changed at the *English* Court. The King gave himſelf up to his Pleaſures, without any Reſerve or Diſcretion. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had no Religion, and gloried in his Debaucheries, and *Wilmot*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, the greateſt Wit, and the moſt ſatyrical licentious Poet of his Age, were his principal Favourites. To theſe two Men and his Miſtreſſes, the King gave up almoſt his whole Time. Pleaſures and Debaucheries were the whole Entertainment of the Court. And this Example had but too much Influence upon the Subjects in general; and notwithſtanding the large Supplies granted, the King was always in Want.

But ſtill a greater Misfortune to *England* was, that only Papiſts, or Men of no Religion, had any Credit at Court. The Duke of *York* was not only a Catholick, but, moreover, exceeding zealous for his Religion; and as he was preſumptive Heir to the Crown, every Body made their court to him. He had ſo powerful a Party at Court, and ſo many of his Creatures about the King's Perſon, that he was almoſt abſolute there, and able to direct the Reſolutions of the Council.

This Summer the King ſent a Squadron into the *Mediterranean*, commanded by Sir *Thomas Allan*, who forced the *Algerines* to a Peace, very advantageous to *England*.

Sir *Thomas Clifford* was made Treaſurer of the

the King's Houſhold; the Duke of *Monmouth*, the King's natural Son, was made Captain of his Life Guard of Horſe; and Sir *John Trevor*, lately returned from *France*, was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State. 1669.

This Year the large and magnificent Theatre at *Oxford*, built at the Expence of Dr *Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was opened.

The Parliament being met, the King, in his Speech, demanded a Supply to pay his Debts; and the Commons voted him 400,000 *l.* The Difference between the two Houſes ſtill remained in Debate.

The Parliament of *Scotland* met about the ſame Time with that of *England*. The Duke of *Lauderdale*, the King'sHighCommiſſioner, made a great Figure in the preſent Reign. He came into all the King's Meaſures, and laboured all he could to make him abſolute in both Kingdoms.

It was through his Means and Intrigues, that the *Scots* Parliament made an Act for having the Direction of the Militia in the *Scots* Council, without any Application made to the King. By this was meant the raiſing of the King's Supremacy: For theſe Troops, by this Contrivance, were to be put into the King's Power whenever he had Occaſion for them, without his appearing openly to call them into *England*; and that any Complaints, in caſe of a Miſcarriage, might be againſt the Council.

This

1670. This Year the King's Mother died in *France*; as did alſo the famous Duke of *Albemarle*.

The Parliament being prorogued before the Money Bill was compleated, and being now met again, the King made a Speech, and alſo the Chancellor, both very preſſing for a large Supply: The Commons readily granted a Duty on all Wines and Vinegar imported into the Kingdom, by one Bill; and another, for the advancing the Sale of his Majeſty's Fee Farm Rents, and other Rents. Theſe two Bills would produce about 1,700,000 *l.* Thus the King received for this glorious War with *Holland* 7,760,000 *l.*

The Quarrel between the two Houſes being again revived, the King propoſed an Expedient for an Accommodation; this was, to ſay no more of the Difference, but to eraſe all Entries and Records concerning the Buſineſs: which was agreed to, and the Buſineſs ended.

Both Houſes, after this, joined in an Addreſs to the King, praying him to iſſue out his Orders for the Suppreſſion of Conventicles held by Nonconformiſts; and to put the Laws in execution againſt Papiſts. A Bill for this Purpoſe received the Royal Aſſent; in which it was enacted, that if any Perſon, upwards of Sixteen, ſhould be preſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, under colour or pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in any other Manner than according to the Liturgy, and Practice of the

the Church of *England*; the Offenders were made liable to a Fine, and alſo the Preachers and Teachers. 1670.

Tho' the King had great Reaſon to be pleaſed with this Parliament, for the Sums frequently granted; and might have lived in Happineſs, Tranquility, and Plenty: yet all this would not hinder him from Thoughts of becoming abſolute.

This Reſolution being taken, the King eaſily ſaw the Execution of it required an artful and cautious Conduct; and, to effect this Undertaking with the more Caution, the King eſtabliſhed a Cabinet-Council of five Perſons, all true to the Plot, namely,

C LIFFORD,
A RLINGTON,
B UCKINGHAM,
A SHLEY,
L AUDERDALE.

As the initial Letters of theſe five Names compoſed the Word *Cabal*; this ſecret Council was, from thence, called *The Cabal*.

Clifford and *Arlington* were both Papiſts; the other three did not ſeem nice in Points of Religion, but exceeded in Wit and Politicks: *Lauderdale* procured that ſovereign Authority in *Scotland*, ſo as to name the Privy Counſellors, to place and remove the Lords of the Seſſion and Exchequer, to grant Gifts and Penſions, to levy and diſband Forces, to appoint General-Officers, and to tranſact all Matters of Importance.

The great Deſign formed, was to introduce

1670. duce an arbitrary Government, and to extirpate the Protestant Religion; and as it was natural to believe, the *English* would not tamely give up their Religion and Liberty, their Scheme was, to fall upon the *Dutch*, and render them incapable to succour *England:* And from this the King also had a Pretence for raising Forces; for the Ground of this War with the *Dutch* was only a Dispute about the Flag.

The Dutchess of *Orleans* came into *England* under pretence to visit the King her Brother; but her secret Commission was from *Lewis* XIV. to assure *Charles* that he would assist him with Force sufficient to free him from the Tyranny of the Parliament, render him absolute in his Kingdoms, and introduce Popery, as soon as the States should be sufficiently humbled. To this End an Alliance with *France* had been sought for by the Cabal.

The Parliament being met, the Chancellor, who knew nothing of the Cabal, was directed to make a Speech, setting forth the Necessity of fitting out a Fleet, since both *France* and *Holland* were increasing the Number of their Ships; and therefore his Majesty had ordered the fitting out of 50 of the greatest Ships, to secure the Trade of the Nation.

From this Artifice the King had the Opportunity of demanding a fresh Supply; and the Commons, not suspecting the secret Designs of the King, prepared three Bills; one

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to raiſe 800,000 *l.* by way of Subſidy; another, to lay an additional Exciſe on Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for ſix Years; a third, for laying Impoſitions upon Proceedings at Law for nine Years. Theſe Bills would produce to the King 2,500,000 *l.* Then the Parliament was adjourned. 1671.

The Prince of *Orange*, Nephew to *Charles*, came to *London*, to demand of the King the Repayment of the Money lent him by the Prince his Father, in the Time of his Exile. He was graciouſly received, and ſtaid about three Months.

This Year died *Henry Jenkins*, a poor Fiſherman of *Yorkſhire*, who had lived in the Reigns of eight Kings and Queens of *England*, aged 169 Years; exceeding the famous *Thomas Parr* 17 Years.

Both Houſes addreſſed the King, praying that the Laws might be more effectually put in execution againſt the Papiſts; and particularized upon the great Inconveniences that aroſe from the Growth of Papiſts.

The King gave a favourable Anſwer, with Aſſurances of complying with their Requeſt, and with publiſhing Proclamations for that Purpoſe; but the Publication and the Execution were two Things.

The Lord *Lucas* made a Speech to the Houſe of Lords, in his Majeſty's Preſence, the moſt bold that Hiſtory relates, as to the Miſapplication of the ſeveral Sums granted to his Majeſty, and the Burthens thereby laid upon the People.

This

1671. This Speech, afterwards printed and published, was so offensive to the King and his Ministers, that it was ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.

This did not prevent its making some Impression upon the Lords, who sent the Bill to the Commons with some Amendments (which was brought up just before this Speech) in order to grant an additional Duty upon several foreign Commodities to his Majesty.

This occasioned a Dispute between the two Houses, the Commons refusing absolutely to receive the Amendments. The Commons maintained that the Lords had no Right to make any Amendments in Bills of Impositions and Rates, and that they could only receive or reject them as they were sent; and the Lords asserted the contrary.

In short, the King, perceiving that the Contest daily grew warmer, came to the House of Peers, and prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *April*; and afterwards, by several Prorogations, for one Year and nine Months in the whole.

Ann Hyde, Dutchess of *York*, Daughter to the Earl of *Clarendon*, died this Year, in the 31st Year of her Age; she left two Children, *Mary* and *Ann*, who were successively Queens of *England*.

The Duke of *York*, after the Death of the Dutchess, made a formal Abjuration of the

the Proteſtant Religion, before Father *Si-mond*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit; and from that Time he declared himſelf a Papiſt openly. 1671.

The Reaſon was this, the King was ſtill for proſecuting the Affair of the Divorce; and it is aſſured the Pope gave his Conſent. When the Buſineſs was brought thus far, the Prieſts and Jeſuites gave the Duke of *York* to underſtand, that they were able either to effect or hinder the King's Divorce; and that they would undertake the latter on Condition he would make an open Profeſſion of the Catholick Religion. This, as is pretended, engaged him to declare himſelf a Papiſt; being apprehenſive, that if the King ſhould be divorced from the Queen, he might marry a ſecond Time, and have legitimate Children.

After the Prorogation of the Parliament, the Cabal was intent upon putting their Project in execution: The firſt Thing was, to make the King abſolute; under which was comprized the Eſtabliſhment of Popery.

The King having granted Sir *William Temple* a Yatch to bring over his Lady, the Admiralty gave expreſs Orders to the Captain to go in queſt of the *Dutch* Fleet; and if they refuſed to ſtrike, to fire at them. The Captain purſued his Orders, and fired at the *Dutch* Fleet. Mr *de Ghent*, who commanded the Fleet, ſent a Boat to know the Reaſon. *Temple* returned no other Anſwer, than that he had his Inſtructions, and knew very well what he did. *Ghent*, finding this, went

1671. aboard the Yatch and talked with *Temple* about it; who returned the same Answer. However, as *Ghent* had no Instructions in the Affair, he fired not one Shot at the Yatch.

It is said, the King of *France* sent *Charles* a considerable Sum the better to enable him to put a Fleet to Sea against the States. Thus the King turned his whole Thoughts to War; tho', with all possible Artifice, he endeavoured to remove all Suspicion of his having any such Design: and his Ambassador at *Holland* fully assured the *Dutch* the same.

One *Blood*, a famous Villain, Robber, and Assassin, formed a Design of stealing the Crown, Scepter, and Globe, from the Tower; and, with the Assistance of two or three more, he executed the Attempt so dexterously, that he got quite out of the Tower with the Booty, before he was stopt.

To give some Account of *Blood*. The Duke of *Ormond*, when he was Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having caused some of *Blood*'s Acccomplices to be hanged, who intended to have seized the Castle of *Dublin*, *Blood* swore to be revenged; so followed the Duke into *England*, and watched him so, that, with seven or eight Persons on Horseback, he stopt the Duke's Chariot in the Night, and intended to murder him: but the Duke bravely saved his Life.

These Attempts were very surprizing; but

but the King's Conduct on this Occasion 1671.
was ſtill more ſo: for, having a Deſire to examine *Blood* himſelf, he put many Queſtions to him; which the Villain anſwered with ſurprizing Boldneſs, confeſſing all, and alſo his Attempt upon *Ormond*; a Thing not before diſcovered who the Perſon was. Not content with this, he told the King he had engaged in a Deſign to kill him, and had an Opportunity once when he was ſwimming; but his Heart was checked with the Awe of Majeſty: and he did not only relent himſelf, but diverted his Aſſociates from the Deſign. He told the King, he was prepared to ſuffer Death; but that he could not help acquainting his Majeſty, that he had ſome Hundreds of Accomplices, who had bound themſelves in the moſt horrible Oaths to revenge the Death of any of the Fraternity; which would expoſe his Majeſty and all his Miniſters to the daily Fear and Expectation of a Maſſacre: but if he ſpared his Life, his own would be ſecure.

The King was ſurprized, and probably intimidated, by theſe Words of *Blood*; for he pardoned him, and deſired the Duke of *Ormond* not to proſecute him, and ſettled 500 *l.* a-year in Land upon him in *Ireland.*

From this Time *Blood* was continually at Court; and the King treated him with that Freedom, that many Perſons applied to him for Favours from the King.

The Project of the *Dutch* War was thus: Before any open Declaration of War,

the

1671. the King of *France*, the Elector of *Cologn*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, were to attack them by Land; and the *English* and *French* Fleets were to join and fall upon them by Sea: yet this met with one Difficulty, which had not been foreseen. Though *Charles* had received 2,500,000 *l.* from the Parliament, and 700,000 *l.* from the King of *France*, he was still in want.

The King could not begin this War without 1,500,000 *l.* more; and as the Parliament was prorogued, he promised the Treasurer's Staff to the Person who would suggest the Means of raising that Sum. Sir *Thomas Clifford*'s Invention proved the most lucky; he went to the King, and told him, that by shutting up the Exchequer he would easily raise that and a larger Sum.

The King readily understood this Advice; and resolving to make use of it, made good his Promise, and advanced *Clifford* to the Post of Lord-High-Treasurer. I shall explain the meaning of this. Several monied Men in *London*, not caring to keep too large Sums in their Houses, put their Money into the Hands of Bankers and Goldsmiths without Interest. The Bankers and Goldsmiths usually lent this Money to the King at a large Interest, upon the Parliament's Funds; so that, in shutting up the Exchequer, the King received all the Money that came into it without paying it to the Bankers and Goldsmiths; who, having advanced upon that Security to the King already, were deprived

prived of receiving the Money for Repayment as it came into the Exchequer. 1671.

By this Usage the Persons who had put Money into Bankers and Goldsmiths Hands were entirely ruined; since it was not in their Power to dispose of their Capital: and their Ruin was the more inevitable, as the Bankers refused even to pay any Notes drawn dayly upon them; on pretence that they received nothing out of the Exchequer. This caused an extreme Consternation in *London:* But the King and Ministers pursued their own Measures, and, deaf to the Complaints of so many ruined Families, kept the Exchequer shut up one Year; and then, by a new Order, some Months longer: But the Hopes that the Cabal then had, to make the King absolute, made them very easy under the Complaints and Reproaches of the People.

But *Charles* had in his Head a Project, which would furnish him with still more considerable Sums; this was, to surprize the *Dutch* Fleet returning from *Smyrna*, richly laden, before there was any Declaration of War. To this End he put to Sea 36 Men of War, under the Command of *Holmes*; who had Orders to cruise in the Channel, and intercept the *Dutch* Fleet.

Holmes being informed that the *Dutch* Fleet was near, divided his own into three Squadrons. That of *Holland* consisted of 72 Sail of Merchantmen, many of them without Guns, and under the Convoy of five

1671. five Men of War, commanded by experienced Officers; who drew up the Merchant Ships in three Squadrons, in excellent Order, and put themselves betwixt them and the *English* Fleet, and gave Orders to pursue their Course without breaking their Line.

Holmes attacked this Fleet the 13th of *March*, and fought the whole Day without gaining the least Advantage. The next Day the Fight was renewed, and the *Dutch* Admiral killed, and an *English* Vice-Admiral's Ship disabled. The Day after, *Holmes* having received a Reinforcement of some Frigates, renewed the Engagement, and at last took one Man of War, the Captain and almost all the Sailors being slain, and three Merchant Ships; which they brought into the *Thames*. This was all the Advantage the *English* received from an Action which reflected no great Honour on the King.

Care was taken at *London* to have this Engagement pass for the pure Effect of Chance; because the *Dutch* had refused to strike to the *English* Fleet. Soon after, the King sent out a Squadron to meet four *Dutch India* Ships; which were immediately taken, and condemned. At the same time, he ordered all the *Dutch* Ships in his Ports to be seized; tho', by an express Stipulation in the Treaty of *Breda*, it was provided, that even after the Declaration of War a certain Time should be allowed to the Merchants to withdraw their Effects.

The

The States, ſeduced by ſo ill an Example, likewiſe made Seizure of the *Engliſh* Ships; but conſidering how much the Honour of Princes and States was wounded by theſe ſorts of Depredations, ſent the *Engliſh* Ships home. The King could not then help releaſing ſome of the *Dutch* Ships, but would not reſtore all. 1672.

As the Project of the Cabal was, to render the King abſolute; and as this Branch comprehended under it the Extirpation of the Proteſtants, or at leaſt the Introduction of the Popiſh Religion, it was thought neceſſary to admit of Liberty of Conſcience, in order for the better Execution of their projected Deſign.

To this End the King publiſhed a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; wherein he declares, that he will from time to time allow ſuch a ſufficient Number of Places, as ſhall be deſired, in all Parts of his Kingdom, for ſuch as did not conform to the Church of *England*, to meet and aſſemble in order to their Publick Worſhip and Devotion; except the Recuſants of the Roman Catholick Religion, to whom he will no-ways allow Publick Places of Worſhip, but only indulge them their Share in the common Exemption from the executing Penal Laws (which he entirely ſuſpended both as to Nonconformiſts and Recuſants): yet he tolerated the Papiſts in the Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes.

Two Days after, the King declared War a-

1672. againſt the States, which was founded upon a great many Generalities and far-fetched Pretexts. Neither is this to be avoided when War is firſt reſolved on, and Reaſons and Pretences are afterwards to be ſought for: But there was nothing ſo abſurd which the Cabal did not think they could make Men ſwallow.

The Duke of *York* found his Account in ſo rare a Scheme; and, beſides, flattered himſelf with the Thoughts of eſtabliſhing the Religion for which he was exceeding zealous. As for the Cabal, they were Men entirely deſtitute of all Principles of Honour, Juſtice, or Religion; each of them intent upon raiſing his own private Fortune upon the Ruin of the Publick.

As for the King, it can't be imagined he had any kind of Affection for his People; for as this War was directly contrary to the Intereſts of *England*, and even oppoſite to Juſtice and Honeſty, it plainly appeared, that *Charles*'s ſole Aim was, to render himſelf abſolute, in order to enjoy all the Wealth of *England* without controul, and without any Obligations to his Parliament.

France had the Addreſs to perſuade the King and Cabal, that, after the Republick of *Holland* ſhould be deſtroyed, both Crowns would unite to render the King abſolute in *England*, and eſtabliſh the Popiſh Religion. But they had Reaſon afterwards to ſee, how much they were deceived in their Reliance upon *France*.

The

The Execution of this Project met with one Obstacle, which the Cabal could not but foresee; this was the King's immense Prodigality, which was the Reason that all the Sums received from *France* and the Parliament were insufficient to support the War, so that there was a Necessity to have a Recourse to the Parliament; which in the End broke all their Measures. On the other Hand, this Project having given an Alarm to all *Europe*, the States found Friends to stand by them. 1672.

The same Day that War was published against the States at *London*, the like was published at *Paris*, supported with no better Grounds: For the King of *France* gave no other Reason for the War, than his Displeasure at the Carriage of the States.

The Bishop of *Munster* likewise proclaimed War against the *Dutch*; and the Elector of *Cologne* had made a secret Treaty with *France*. Thus were four Princes combined together, utterly to destroy the *Dutch*.

The States having, for some Time, seen this Storm gathering, endeavoured to divert it, by offering the King of *England* all the Satisfaction he could reasonably expect. They offered to agree to the striking of the Flag, and made the Prince of *Orange* Captain-General and Admiral, tho' only 22 Years of Age; believing that this would content the King, his Uncle: being ignorant that *Charles*'s Design was to overturn their

1672. Republick, without any Thought or Concern for the Interefts of the Prince of *Orange*.

The King of *France* took the Field, and made himfelf Mafter of feveral Places upon the *Rhine*, almoft without Oppofition; and fwimming that River, become Mafter of all *Guelderland*, and the Towns upon the *Iffel*; and *Utrecht* fent Deputies to meet him, with a Tender to fubmit to his Orders. At the fame Time the Bifhop of *Munfter*, after having laid wafte the Province of *Overyffel*, fell upon *Friefland* and *Groningen*; fo that only *Holland* and *Zealand* remained free, and even the former was threatened with a like Invafion.

The two Fleets of *England* and *France* joined the Beginning of *May*; the firft confifted of 100 Sail of Men of War, and the latter of 40. The States had 72 large Ships, and 40 Frigates and Fire-fhips, commanded by the famous *Ruyter*, affifted by *Cornelius de Wit*. *Ruyter* endeavoured to prevent the Junction of the two Fleets, but did not prevail.

The two Fleets being joined, were ranged into three Squadrons. The Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, commanded the Red, the Count *d'Etrees* the White, and the Earl of *Sandwich* the Blue. The Fleet of the States was alfo in three Squadrons; *Ruyter* being oppofed to the Duke of *York*, *Bankers* to Count *d'Etrees*, and *Van Ghent* to *Sandwich*. They fought with equal

equal Bravery, with almoſt equal Loſs; and both Sides challenged the Victory. 1672.

The Admiral's Ship of the *Engliſh* being diſabled, the Duke of *York* was obliged to hoiſt his Flag on board another. The *Royal James*, commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, not being able to diſengage from a Fire-ſhip, after ſhe had ſunk two, was blown up, with the Earl and her whole Crew. Sir *Richard Haddock* was the Captain of this Ship. The *Engliſh* loſt two Ships more, the *Hollanders* three, and *Van Ghent* was killed.

The *Engliſh* complained, that the *French* were wanting in their Duty. This Conduct was aſcribed to ſecret Orders given to Count *d'Etrees* not to expoſe too much his Majeſty's Ships, but leave the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to effect their own Deſtruction.

The Cabal was advanced: *Lauderdale* was created a Duke of the ſame Name; *Aſhley* was made Earl of *Shaftſbury*; *Arlington* was made Earl of *Arlington*; and *Clifford* was made Lord *Clifford*.

The States-General were now in a deplorable Condition; and, to ſtop the Progreſs of the *French* King, were obliged to open the Sluices, and lay the Country under Water.

This melancholly Situation of Affairs gave terrible Uneaſineſs to the People of *Holland*. The Penſioner *de Wit*, who had been many Years at the Head of Affairs, and *Cornelius*, his Brother, were torn to Pieces by the Rab-

ble

1672. ble of the *Hague*; and the Prince of *Orange* was made Stadtholder.

The King of *France*, who ever dreaded the Advancement of the Prince of *Orange*, no sooner saw him invested with this eminent Dignity, than he endeavoured to corrupt him with the offered Sovereignty of *Holland*; but he found this young Prince deaf to all his Offers, and resolute to serve the State to the last Moment of his Life. The King of *England* seconded his Ally in this Design.

The States sent Ambassadors with Proposals of Peace to *England* and *France*; but 'twas to no Purpose. *Charles*, soon after, sent the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Arlington* into *Holland*, on Pretence to treat about a Peace; but their Intent was more firmly to bind the Alliance with *France*, and went to *Utrecht* for that Purpose.

The King of *France*, seeing that the Inundation had put a Stop to his Conquests in *Holland*, marched his Army into *Flanders*; and *Charles* sent the Duke of *Monmouth* with 6000 Men to assist him.

The States, in this wretched Condition, were endeavouring to make an Alliance with the Emperor, *Spain*, and some of the Princes of *Germany*; and were in Hopes, that the *English* Parliament would open their Eyes, and see the Interest of *England* and all *Europe*.

The King declared in Council, that he would raise more Forces; and, for the Payment

ment of them, ordered, that the Exchequer 1672.
ſhould continue ſhut till *May* 1673; tho' he had given his poſitive Promiſe, that it ſhould be opened in the Beginning of the Year.

The King made an Offer of Peace, but upon ſuch unreaſonable Terms, that the States could not comply.

Sir *Henry Coventry* was made Secretary of State, in the Room of Sir *John Trevor*, who died this Year.

Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* reſigning the Great Seal, the new Earl of *Shaftſbury* was made Lord High Chancellor. A few Days after, the King kept his Promiſe with *Clifford*, by making him Lord Treaſurer: So that all the great Offices of State were held by the Cabal, or by Perſons devoted to their Intereſts.

The King's Demands for a Peace were a Million of Pounds *Sterling*, to defray the Expences of the War, the Compliment of the Flag without any Exception, 100,000 *l.* yearly for the Liberty of fiſhing, the Sovereignty of all that ſhould remain of the United Provinces for his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, a Participation of the whole *India* Trade enjoyed by the States, the Town of *Sluys*, the Iſles of *Cadſand*, *Walcheren*, *Goeree*, and *Voerne*; and laſtly, an entire Satisfaction to the King of *France*.

The Parliament having now been prorogued for almoſt two Years, was become impatient, and wanted to apply proper Remedies

1672. medies to prevent the Evils with which the Kingdom was threaten'd. They met the 4th of *February*, and first chose a Speaker; by the Influence of the Court, Sir *Edward Turner*, the late Speaker, being made chief Baron of the Exchequer. The Choice falling upon Sir *Job Charleton*, he desired to be excused.

The King and the Chancellor made each a Speech, artfully contrived to impose upon the Hearers; but the Cabal thought they were so secure of gaining their Point, as to believe, that the Parliament itself would not dare to seem to know their Artifices. The Chancellor's Speech was so full of Dissimulation, that one must suppose him to have a Forehead of Brass to pronounce such a Speech before so august an Assembly; he, at the same Time, being at the Head of the Cabal: However, a great Supply was the great End of these Speeches.

The Parliament loudly complained of the Chancellor, who had issued out Writs for electing new Members in the Room of those who were dead or removed; and, by virtue thereof, had got his own Creatures returned. The next Day the Parliament voted these Writs and Returns irregular, and expelled all the Members thus elected.

There was in the Parliament, as in most others, two Parties, called the *Court* and *Country Party*. The Court Party had always been uppermost, while the People were persuaded of the good Intentions of the

the King and his Ministers; but, in proportion as the King discovered himself, his Party sensibly decreased. 1672.

The Protestations of the King had lost all their Effect, when it was once seen that his Actions corresponded so little with his Words. The People, at last, seeing that Religion and the State were in Danger, took Care to return Members to fill the Vacancies, whose Principles were directly opposite to the Court. By this the Country Party began to prevail.

By the King and the Chancellor's Speeches, a considerable Aid was demanded for the Sea Service, another for the Land, a third to discharge some old Debts, a fourth to refund the Money taken out of the Exchequer. What would be necessary for these Purposes, would rise, at the lowest Computation, to Five Millions.

Though the Parliament was no-way convinced of the Necessity or Justice of this War; yet, to shew they did not act from a Spirit of Passion and Revenge, they voted a Supply of eighteen Months Assessment of 70,000 *l.* a Month; which, in all, amounted to 1,260,000 *l.* for the King's extraordinary Occasions, without specifying, that it was the Support of the War; but, apprehensive that the King might prorogue them when the Money Bill was passed, they resolved, at the same Time, to tack this Bill, and another of Grievances, together.

For this Purpose they addressed his Majesty,

1672. jesty, and informed him, that they had taken into Consideration his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; and that Penal Laws, in Matters Ecclesiastical, could not be suspended but by an Act of Parliament; and prayed he might give such Directions as would remove the Jealousies that might remain in the Hearts of his faithful Subjects.

The King, in his Answer to this Address, seemed to insist on his Power in Matters Ecclesiastical, as used in the Reigns of his Ancestors. This caused a second Address; in which they set forth, that if it should be admitted, it might tend to the interrupting the free Course of the Laws, and alter the legislative Power; which had always been acknowledged to reside in his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament.

The King's Answer to this Address was, *It is of Consequence, and I will take it into Consideration.*

Sir *Job Charleton*, who could not get excused from being Speaker of the House of Commons, was taken ill, and *Edward Seymour* was chosen in his Room.

The King and the Cabal were quite mistaken, in imagining that the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience could engage the Presbyterians in their Party. Their Leaders had too much Sense to be taken in a Snare, at once so palpable and dangerous. It was easy for them to see, that they were only the Tools designed to advance the Interests of the *Romish* Religion.

Al-

Alderman *Love*, one of the City Members, and a leading Diſſenter, declared in a Speech, he had much rather ſtill go without their deſired Liberty, than have it in a Way that would prove ſo detrimental to the Nation. The Commons ſeeing plainly alſo the Drift of the Cabal, ordered a Bill to be brought in for the Eaſe of the Preſbyterians; by which all Penalties ordained againſt them by the Act of Uniformity were taken off, and no other Neceſſity laid upon them but the taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. This went to the Lords, who made ſome Amendments: But the King prorogued the Parliament before the two Houſes could come to an Agreement. 1672.

Both Houſes addreſſed the King, to order, by Proclamation, that all *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits ſhould depart the Kingdom within 30 Days; and that all Officers and Soldiers in his Majeſty's Pay, ſhould take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*; and that the Laws be put in execution againſt all *Romiſh* Recuſants; and to have a Revocation of the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

The King ordered a Proclamation accordingly; but ſaid nothing of the Removal of the Papiſts from publick Employs: So it gave not Satisfaction to the Commons.

The King had never been in ſo great a Perplexity. The Cabal held a Council up-

1672. on the Affair, and were divided in their Opinions. The King ſaw he muſt either ſubmit to the Commons, or uſe Force at all Hazards: But his Exchequer being empty, he did not ſee how Force could be attended with Succeſs; ſo, after he had heſitated ſome Time, he called for the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and broke the Seal with his own Hands.

After this, the King made a Speech to the Parliament, preſſing the Money Bill to be diſpatched; and aſſured them he would as willingly receive and paſs any other Bill they ſhould offer, that might tend to the giving them Satisfaction in all their juſt Grievances.

This Speech was ſo ſatisfactory, that both Houſes went in a full Body, and thanked the King.

This put the Cabal in great Fear: Their Hopes were built upon the Firmneſs and Reſolution of the King; but he foreſaw the Danger of the Scheme. After this firſt Step, they were afraid of being given up to the Reſentment of the Parliament.

The Earl of *Arlington* had adviſed the King to revoke his Declaration: And the Earl of *Shaftſbury* now ſeeing the King had not Reſolution enough to execute the great Deſign; and finding himſelf in Danger, and chiefly by reaſon of the Writs iſſued out by him, as Chancellor, ſo deſtructive to the Rights and Privileges of the Commons; and being out of Hopes of a Protection from the King, believed no other Way was left

left to divert the impending Storm, than by quitting the King's Party, and throwing himſelf into the contrary; and, from this Time, he appeared always at the Head of the Country Party in all his Speeches, and was a Means of cauſing the King to undergo very grievous Mortifications. 1672.

Immediately after this Change, a Bill was brought in, called *The Teſt Act*. This obliged all, in any Office or Place of Truſt, to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy in open Court, and to receive the Communion after divine Service, and deliver a Certificate thereof, ſigned by the Miniſter and Church-wardens, atteſted by the Oaths of two Witneſſes, and to ſign the Declaration againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

This done, they brought in a Bill to prevent the Duke of *York* from marrying with a Popiſh Princeſs. This tended directly to break the Negotiation then on foot for the Marriage of the Duke of *York* with an Archdutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, or any other Catholick Princeſs.

The King all this while was very uneaſy, as he ſaw that the Parliament was acquainted with his ſecret Reſolutions: He was therefore more preſſing with the Commons for the diſpatch of the Money Bill; but before they would paſs it, they preſented to him two Addreſſes concerning Grievances; the one relating to *England*, the other to *Ireland*.

As to *England*, they deſired that an Order of Council for laying Twelve-pence a

1673. Chaldron upon Coals might be cancelled: That the Order for quartering Soldiers in private Houſes might be withdrawn; and that due Satisfaction be given to Inn-keepers and Victuallers, where they lye, before they remove: That after this War is ended, all the Soldiers that have been raiſed ſince the laſt Seſſion of Parliament may be diſbanded.

The *Iriſh* Grievances contained ſundry Articles, chiefly concerning Religion. One of theſe Articles deſired the King to deprive of all Employments, Civil or Military, Colonel *Richard Talbot*, who publickly took upon him the Title of Agent for the Roman Catholicks in *Ireland*. This *Talbot* was afterwards created Duke of *Tyrconnel*, and Lieutenant of *Ireland*, by *James* II.

The King made Anſwer, that before the next Meeting, he would ſo order Matters that no Man ſhould have Reaſon to complain. After this the Money Bill paſſed: But, to ſhew a tacit Diſlike of the War, for which this Money Bill was intended, the Bill was intitled, *A Supply of his Majeſty's extraordinary Occaſions*; and a particular Proviſo was tacked to it, that no Papiſt ſhould be capable of holding any publick Employment.

The Teſt Act being paſſed, the greateſt Part of the Catholick Officers threw up their Employs. The Duke of *York* himſelf reſigned the Poſt of Lord High Admiral; and the Lord *Clifford* delivered up the Trea-

ſurer's

ſurer's Staff, and died ſoon after. Then the Parliament was adjourned. 1673.

Preparations for War were carrying on in *England* and *Holland* with equal Ardour and vaſt Expence. Prince *Rupert* was appointed to command the Fleet.

Ruyter put to Sea with a Fleet of 109 Sail. The *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet joined, and made 140 Sail. Not to enter into Particulars, I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that this Year was ſignalized by three Naval Engagements, fought with ſuch equal Courage and Fury, that neither of the Fleets could, with any Juſtice, boaſt of Victory, tho' both challenged it in every Battle. Several ſmall Ships were either ſunk or burnt on both Sides. The *Engliſh* loſt Vice-Admiral *Spragg*, and the *Dutch* Vice-Admiral *Sweers.*

Spain having declared War againſt *France*, and the Emperor being juſt for declaring, obliged *Lewis*, at laſt, to abandon all his Conqueſts in the United Provinces, except *Maeſtricht* and *Grave*, where he left Garriſons.

In the mean time a Congreſs was held at *Cologne* for a Treaty of Peace, but with no Succeſs.

The King made Sir *Thomas Oſborne* Lord High Treaſurer, who was afterwards made Earl of *Danby*.

The Duke of *York* married the Princeſs of *Modena*. This Marriage was ſolemnized by the Earl of *Peterborough*, his Proxy. *Lewis* contributed very much to this Match,

by

1673. by declaring her an adoptive Daughter of *France*, and engaging to pay her Portion.

The Commons were very much diſpleaſed at this Marriage with a Catholick Princeſs; and being met, the King made a Speech, demanding a Supply; telling them, that the Honour and Safety of the Nation neceſſarily required it, ſince nothing could be concluded with the *Dutch* upon honourable Terms at the Congreſs held at *Cologne*. He alſo recommended to their Conſideration the Payment of the Debt owing to the Goldſmiths upon ſhutting up the Exchequer, which amounted to Two Millions *Sterling*.

The Chancellor enlarged with great Eloquence; but his Speech made little Impreſſion upon the Commons: They were no ſooner returned to their Houſe, than, inſtead of voting the King Thanks for his Speech, they adjourned themſelves till the 30th of the Month.

The Commons at laſt took the King's Speech into Conſideration, and refuſed to raiſe any further Supply, except it ſhould appear, that the Obſtinacy of the *Dutch* ſhould render it neceſſary; nor before the Kingdom be effectually ſecured from Popery and Popiſh Counſellors, and the other preſent Grievances redreſſed.

The Commons alſo twice addreſſed the King againſt the Duke of *York*'s Marriage, by reaſon of the Diſquiet it gave to the Minds of his Proteſtant Subjects; and that the

the Kingdom thereby would be under the 1673.
continual Apprehensions of the Growth of Popery, and the Danger of the Protestant Religion. And finding by the Opinions of very learned Men, that it is generally admitted, that such Treaties and Contracts by Proxies are dissolvable, of which there are several Instances to be produced, they humbly beseeched his Majesty to put a Stop to the Consummation of this intended Marriage. The King promised to take this Matter into Consideration.

After this the Commons voted the standing Army a Grievance to the Nation, and addressed his Majesty against it; and voted the Alliance with *France* a Grievance; that the evil Counsellors about the King were a Grievance; and that the Duke of *Lauderdale* was a Grievance, and not fit to be trusted or employ'd in any Office or Place of Trust.

Soon after the King came to the Parliament, and, in a short Speech, represented the great Advantage the Enemy would draw from the least Appearance of a Difference between him and his Parliament: That no Care should be greater than his own, in the effectual suppressing of Popery. He then prorogued the Parliament till *January* following; and thus put an End to the Twelfth Session of this long Parliament, after it had sat only nine Days.

The King took the Great Seal from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and gave it to Sir *Heneage*
Finch,

1673. *Finch*, with the Title of *Lord Keeper*. Soon after the King ordered, that no Person who was a Roman Catholick, or reputed such, should presume to come near his Person or Court. He likewise put out a Proclamation for the rigorous Execution of the Laws against Papists. This was the eighth of this kind, and executed as the seven before had been.

The Princess of *Modena*, 15 Years of Age, came into *England* with the Dutchess, her Mother, and was married to the Duke of *York* by the Bishop of *Oxford*.

The Parliament being met, the King told them in a Speech, that no Proposals of Peace had yet been made by the *Dutch*: That all their Hopes were to disunite him and his Parliament: That a speedy Aid was now more necessary than ever, and put them in mind of the Debt to the Goldsmiths: That the Treaty with *France* had been misrepresented to them as of dangerous Consequence; but the Treaty, and all the Articles, should be laid before them.

After this the Lord Keeper enlarged upon these Points with excessive Flattery upon the King, for his extraordinary Care to maintain the Laws and Religion.

The King now began to see the Difficulties into which the Cabal had plunged him by their violent Councils. He had lost the Confidence of his People; and neither his Words nor his Promises were any longer relied on. He had a Chapel secretly erected

in

in his Palace, where he every Day heard 1674.
Mass, so as sometimes to communicate the same Day at both his Protestant and Popish Chapels. When these Things are considered, one knows not what to think of such monstrous Dissimulation.

Both Houses addressed the King for a General Fast, to implore God's Blessing against the Efforts and Dangers of Popery. Nothing was more disagreeable to the King; but he durst not refuse them.

The Commons taking the King's last Speech into Consideration, voted that they would first proceed to have their Grievances redressed. They voted to have the Duke of *Lauderdale* removed from his Employments; and also the Duke of *Buckingham*.

As to the Earl of *Arlington*, the Commons had principally in view his Ruin, and drew up an Impeachment against him; but it was not prosecuted with sufficient Proof, so shall omit the Articles.

Afterwards the Commons prepared a Bill for a General Test, by which every Person refusing to take the Oath, was made incapable to enjoy any Office, Civil or Military, or to sit in either House of Parliament, or come within five Miles of the Court.

This Oath was so opposite to the Principles of the Papists, that no conscientious Catholick could take it; so it was rightly named, since it would fully distinguish who were such.

But before the Bill was ready, the King

1674. prorogued the Parliament, and defeated this, and several others tending to the same End.

The States-General being informed, that the Parliament by no Means approved of the War, solicited the King for a Peace, with Offers of any thing which he could fairly pretend to. The King finding his Affairs in such a Situation as incapacitated him from carrying on the War, communicated their Offers to the Parliament, who approved thereof with little Alteration, and the Treaty was concluded.

This done, the Commons resolved to go thorough with their Work, and appointed Committees to enquire into all Grievances relating to *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The King, to defeat their Designs, prorogued the Parliament before any Measures could be taken, and kept it prorogued 14 Months.

The States agreed by the Peace to strike the Flag, and lower their Top-sail, to those of *England*, and to pay the King 800,000 Patacoons at four Payments. Thus the People of *England* discharged the Expence of this War, and the King alone reaped the Benefit.

The King now entirely resigned himself to a soft, indolent, and effeminate Life. A Gentleman's Daughter of *Bretagne*, called *De Queronalle*, who commanded his Affections beyond any of his other Mistresses, was created by him Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, tho' he

he had Children by several more, educated at a very great Expence. 1675.

France and the States both made Choice of *Charles* to be Mediator of their Differences; and, at the same Time, *Charles* received from *France* an annual Pension of 100,000 *l. Sterling*. This may give us a Taste of his Impartiality.

The Earl of *Arlington* was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houshold, and Sir *Joseph Williamson* was made Secretary in his Room. The Duke of *Buckingham* quite lost the King's Favour, and the Office of Chancellor of *Cambridge*; and the Duke of *Monmouth*, *Charles*'s natural Son, was elected Chancellor in his Room.

The Earl of *Clarendon* died this Year; as also *Milton*, Author of the Poem called *Paradise Lost*.

The Earl of *Arlington* began now to affect the true Protestant, by being frequently at Sermons and Sacraments, and carried his Dissimulation even to persecute the Papists. If by this he gained something upon the People, he lost himself entirely with the King and Duke of *York*, who no longer shewed him any Respect.

The Parliament being met, the King made a Speech, full of Promises to protect the Protestant Religion, and issued once more a Proclamation against Popish Priests and Jesuits.

The Commons, in the first Place, presented a long Address against the Duke of *Lau-*

1675. *Lauderdale*, ſetting forth ſeveral Grievances, and particularly the ſtanding Army kept on foot in *Scotland* by his Procurement, and by which *England* was expoſed to an Invaſion upon any Pretence; and prayed his Majeſty to remove the Duke for ever from his Perſon and Council.

The King did not think proper to grant this Requeſt, and gave his Reaſons, which were not ſatisfactory.

After this the Commons drew up ſeveral Articles againſt the Earl of *Danby*, Lord Treaſurer, whom they believed deeply engaged in the Deſign of making the King abſolute; but no ſufficient Proof was found to ſupport the Charge.

A great Diſpute between the two Houſes happen'd thus: One Dr *Shirley* having brought an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords, from a Decree in Chancery, againſt Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, they ordered *Shirley* to be taken into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for a Breach of Privilege. The Warrant for taking *Shirley* into Cuſtody was forcibly taken from the Serjeant's Deputy by the Lord *Mahun*. The Commons demanded Juſtice from the Peers againſt the ſaid Lord, who ſaid he had only done his Duty. The Quarrel increaſed daily, and came to Language ſo reproachful, that no Hope was left of an Accommodation.

This Quarrel brought the King to the Parliament; which he prorogued, and ended the

the fourteenth Seſſion, before the Money Bill, and other publick Bills, were ready for the Royal Aſſent. 1675.

The Court had been full of Intrigues to bring the King to a Reſolution of diſſolving the Parliament, but did not prevail.

The King opened the Parliament again with a ſhort Speech, recommended Union to the two Houſes, and demanded a Supply.

The Parliament, without taking Notice of the Speech, proceeded to finiſh the Bills left the laſt Seſſion; and took into Conſideration the Sums expended the laſt War; and found the Charges to fall One Million ſhort of what had been received, without being able to diſcover to what Uſes the Money had been applied.

The Commons voted the Sum of 300,000*l.* for the building of 20 large Ships, and paſſed another Vote, for appropriating of Tonnage and Poundage to the Maintenance of the Fleet; which could not but be very diſagreeable to the King.

From a Report that ſeveral of the Commons were Penſioners to the Court, they came to a Reſolution to oblige all their Members to take an Oath; by which they were to proteſt, that they had never received any thing from the Court.

The Debates of the Houſe of Commons were a little interrupted by a Report made to the Houſe of the Inſolence of a *French* Jeſuit, named *St Germain.* This Jeſuit hearing that *Luzancy*, a *French* Prieſt, had em-

1676. embraced the Proteſtant Religion, and preached publickly to juſtify his Converſion, threaten'd to aſſaſſinate him, and thereby extorted from him a Recantation; and the Jeſuits were grown ſo bold and inſolent, that a Proſelyte could not walk the Streets, without being threaten'd and inſulted.

This Affair threw the Houſe into a great Heat, and obliged the King to put out a Proclamation, with an Offer of 200*l.* for the apprehending of *St Germain*; but he withdrew into *France*.

The Diſpute betwixt the two Houſes was again revived; and it was moved in the Houſe of Lords to addreſs the King to diſſolve this Parliament; but it was carried in the Negative only by two Voices. At laſt, the King ſeeing no Expedient could be found out for a Reconciliation, prorogued the Parliament for 15 Months.

Heneage Lord *Finch*, who had been only Lord Keeper before, was made Lord High Chancellor.

As there was now no Parliament, the Catholicks were become leſs reſerved, which occaſioned daily Libels; and the King's protecting openly the Papiſts, was become the common Talk.

This made the King ſuppreſs all Coffeehouſes, on pretence of their being the Places where all diſaffected Perſons met and deviſed their Calumnies againſt the King and Miniſters.

After

After the King had made a Peace with *Holland*, the *French* Privateers infefted the Channel in fuch a Manner, that they feized 53 *Englifh* Merchant Ships. The Merchants complained of this Ufage to the King, who had it reprefented to the King of *France*: But this was all the Satisfaction the Merchants could obtain; for the Court of *France*, well knowing that *Charles* would not break with them for 53 Ships belonging to private Men, took no Notice of the Complaints. This made the *Englifh* eager for a War with *France*, but waited patiently for the meeting of the Parliament, which they thought would have more at Heart than the King the Interefts of the Nation. 1676.

Another Proclamation againft the Papifts iffued, but, as ufual, no rigorous Profecution. They were generally a Preparative to the enfuing Seffion; but the Negligence in the Execution fhewed plainly the King's Intentions.

The King and the Chancellor made their Speeches again to the Parliament, promifing all Satisfaction for the Safety of the Proteftant Religion, and for the Security of Liberty and Property; then demanded a Supply.

As foon as the Commons were withdrawn, the Duke of *Buckingham* ftood up and made a long Speech, tending to prove, that the Parliament was diffolved by the laft Prorogation. He argued chiefly from the Statute of *Edward* III. which enacted, "That a "Par-

1677. "Parliament ſhould be holden every Year "once, or more often, if need be." He ſaid, "That Statutes are not like Women, "for they are not one Jot the worſe for be- "ing old." He was ſeconded by the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Shaftſbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*. At laſt, after great Debates, the Houſe ſent the four Lords to the Tower; but ſoon releaſed them, except *Shaftſbury*, who continued a Year, becauſe he would not own the Juſtice of his Impriſonment.

A few Days after the Commons voted the King a Sum of 580,000 *l.* to build 30 Ships, without appropriating Tonnage and Poundage; beſides, they continued for three Years the additional Tax upon Beer.

The Parliament ſoon after addreſſed the King to go to War with *France*, as well to redreſs Injuries, as to put a Stop to their Progreſs in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The King anſwered this and a ſecond Addreſs to the ſame Purpoſe, and ſaid, "That he would "uſe all Means for the Preſervation of "*Flanders*, and for the Safety of his King- "dom."

This drew on a third Addreſs, wherein the Commons offered to borrow the King 200,000 *l.* to carry on the War. The King anſwered, "That without 600,000 *l.* it would not be poſſible for him to anſwer the "Ends of their ſeveral Addreſſes."

As a great many Members were abſent, they durſt not enter upon any other Money Bills, except the raiſing of 580,000 *l.* and the

Ex-

Excise upon Beer; both which were passed, 1677.
and the Parliament adjourned themselves till *May* following.

It is certain the King had no Design of a War with *France*; but he thought this a favourable Opportunity to draw Money from the Parliament.

The *French* now had made great Conquests in the *Spanish Netherlands*; and they had no Refuge left but the Assistance of *England*. And this was clearly seen by the Commons, which induced them to endeavour to awaken the King out of his seeming Lethargy: But *Charles* probably had his own private Views more at Heart than the Good of the Kingdom.

The Parliament being met, the King made a Speech, promising to act in every Thing necessary for the Safety of the Nation; and hoped they would enable him to do so, by raising of the 600,000 *l.* before mentioned; but took Care to express himself in general Terms, without promising to enter into the War with *France*.

The Case is, The Commons offered to have raised the 600,000 *l.* to carry on this War, so necessary for the Good of the Nation, and to put a Stop to the growing Power of *France*: But the King's Thoughts were not turned to provide for the Safety of his Kingdoms; he only wanted the Money to bring about his own Designs; and the Commons durst not trust him with it, with-

1677. out full Aſſurances how it was to be applied: ſo the Parliament was adjourned.

The Prince of *Orange* came over to *England* to ſollicit in Perſon a Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *York*; and, after ſome Time ſpent, the Marriage was conſummated, with a Portion of 40,000 *l.* and the Day after the King declared the Marriage in full Council.

The City of *London* teſtified an extraordinary Joy at the News; and the Lord Mayor made a magnificent Entertainment on the Occaſion.

After this the King, the Duke of *York*, the Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *William Temple*, enter'd into a Conference for ſettling the Scheme of a general Peace; and the King promiſed the Prince of *Orange*, that if *France* refuſed her Conſent, he would declare War againſt her.

Shortly after the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* embarked for *Holland*; but before his Departure, he had the Mortification to ſee the Adjournment of the Parliament prolonged, from the 3d of *December* to the 4th of *April*.

There being a ſecret Deſign by the Country Party to invite the Prince and Princeſs to an Entertainment in the City, the Court did not like it; which occaſioned them to be hurried away ſo ſuddenly, that when they came to *Canterbury*, they went to an Inn very meanly provided. This made them apply to the Corporation to borrow Money;

Money; but, upon a grave Deliberation, they refused to lend. 1678.

Dr *Tillotson*, then Dean of *Canterbury*, hearing this, got together what Plate and Money he could, and went and offered it. This was highly acceptable to the Prince and Princess, and was the Occasion of his being afterwards advanced to the Archbishoprick.

The King of *France*, by his Artifices, took great Pains to break the Scheme agreed on for a Peace, which was at last reduced to nothing, and no more heard of; and the King was actually negotiating with the King of *France* the Terms on which he was to resist the Solicitations of his Parliament, and prevent his declaring for the Allies. This appears by several Letters from Mr *Montague*, then Ambassador at *Paris*; and also, that large Sums were paid to *Charles* on this Occasion by the King of *France*.

The Secret of all this Negotiation with *France* was, that the King of *France* much increased the Revenues of that Crown by his late Conquests in the *Netherlands*; of which Increase *Charles* received about a fifth Part, for his Forbearance to declare War against *France*: by which he had less Occasion to apply to his Parliament.

And the Artifice used to continue these Payments still subsisted: For tho' *Charles* now entered into a League with *Holland*, it was properly only defensive, to prevent the King of *France* from pushing his Conquests fur-

1678. further. He believed, neverthelefs, that this League would be capable to impofe upon the Parliament; which being met, the King made a long Speech, fhewing the Neceffity of a large Supply. He urged the Marriage of his Neece with the Prince of *Orange*, and the League made with *Holland*, as fufficient Grounds to fhew his Intentions to declare War againft *France*: But the Houfe of Commons had Men of Abilities to perceive the Artifices of the King; and above two Thirds of the Houfe were but little inclined to truft to the King's Word.

Upon this the Commons addreffed his Majefty, and befought him not to admit of any Treaty of Peace, whereby the *French* King fhould be left in Poffeffion of any greater Dominion or Power than was left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty; that no Trade be admitted with *France*; and that when he fhould communicate his Alliances to them in Parliament, they would grant him fuch Supplies as the War fhould require.

This Addrefs threw the King into a great Perplexity. He was for having it believed, that he intended to come to a War with *France*, tho' he had already refolved to free himfelf from it. To avoid therefore an exprefs Anfwer to this Addrefs, he thought of an Expedient; this was, to complain of an Attempt from the Commons upon his Prerogative, in thus pointing to him the Methods he was to ufe; which, at the fame Time, he fhewed to be impracticable, fince the Right of

of making War and Peace belonged solely to him, and was a Right he would not depart from. 1678.

The Articles of the Treaty with *Holland* being laid before the Commons, they voted, that it in no Manner answered their Desires signified to the King; who feigned to fear, that the Parliament, after they had engaged him in a War with *France*, would leave him destitute of Means to support it: and the Commons really distrusted the King's Sincerity, and feared, that after he had got the Money, he would think no more of War.

However, at last the Commons resolved to grant the King a Supply, but with strict Limitations.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, after 13 Months Confinement in the Tower, was at last discharged, by begging Pardon on his Knees at the Bar of the House of Lords, as well for his Fault, as his Obstinacy in not acknowledging it.

While these Things were acting, *Lewis* the Fourteenth made himself Master of *Ghent* and *Ypres*; which so alarmed the *Dutch*, that they resolved on a separate Treaty. *Lewis*, who well knew their Intentions, and had nothing to fear from *England*, began to talk like a Conqueror, and to form himself the Scheme of the Peace; which was different from that agreed, on between *Charles* and the Prince of *Orange*.

The Commons also, alarm'd at the Progress of the *French* Arms, made haste to finish

1678. finish a Bill for the raising of Money by way of a Poll-tax, and resolved upon an Address to the King, to pray him to declare War against *France*. This Address was sent to the Lords for their Concurrence: But before an Answer was given, the King came to the House of Lords; and, after the Royal Assent given to the Poll-bill, and some others, he adjourned the Parliament for five Weeks.

The Parliament being again met, the King informed the House, that the *Dutch* were thinking of a separate Peace without his Consent, and desired their Advice upon that Affair.

The Commons gave their Advice for an actual War with *France*; and voted, that the League made with the States-General was not pursuant to the Address of the House, nor consistent with the Good and Safety of the Kingdom.

The King returned an Answer which testified his Resentment of this Vote. Notwithstanding this, they presented a second Address, and added the Inconveniencies and Dangers the Kingdom lay under; and besought him to remove those Counsellors that advised him to give such Answers to their Addresses; and that he would be pleased to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from his Presence and Council.

The King immediately returned for Answer, that he was much surprized at the Extravagancy of their Address, and unwilling

ling at prefent to give it fuch a due Anfwer 1678.
as it deferved. Two Days after he prorogued the Parliament for fome Weeks. Thus the Propofal of a War with *France* never failed to produce either an Adjournment or a Prorogation.

The feparate Peace between *France* and *Holland* was ftill negotiating, fince they had no Hopes left of Affiftance from *England*; yet they fent an Ambaffador to acquaint *Charles*, that if he would declare War againft *France*, that would prevent a Peace, and was the only Expedient left.

The King now finding that a pofitive Anfwer muft be returned, declared, that fince the *Dutch* would have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* offered Money for his Confent to what he could not help; he did not know why he fhould not get the Money.

This was manifeftly a poor Evafion: for though the States declared, that no Peace fhould be made if the King would really engage in a War; yet he, fuppreffing this pofitive Declaration, fuppofed, that the States were for a Peace upon any Terms.

The King was impofed upon by the Promifes of *Lewis* XIV. who artfully took Advantage of the eager Defire which *Charles*, and the Duke his Brother, had, of eftablifhing an abfolute Government in *England*: For, when he faw himfelf fecure of a Peace with the *Dutch*, and, by a neceffary Confequence, of a general one with all *Europe*; he made

a

1678. a Jeſt of his Promiſe to *Charles.* He no doubt thought, that it was not for the Intereſt of *France* to have *England* turned into an abſolute Monarchy, or feared to engage in ſuch an Undertaking, capable to kindle a new War; in which all *Europe* might be concerned.

The Parliament being met, the King made a Speech; wherein he ſaid, he was reſolved, as far as he was able, to ſave *Flanders* either by a War or a Peace, which Way would beſt conduce to that End.

The Commons came to this Reſolution, that if the King would enter into the War they would to their utmoſt aſſiſt him; but if otherwiſe, they would proceed to the Conſideration of providing for the ſpeedy diſbanding of the Army.

The King to this gave for Anſwer, that the *French* King having offered a Ceſſation till the 27th of *July*, there was great Likelihood that it would be accepted, and end in a general Peace; and that it was his Opinion the Army ought to be diſbanded.

The Houſe upon this voted 200,000 *l.* for diſbanding of the Army by the End of the Month; and the next Day they voted the ſame Sum towards defraying the Expences of the Fleet.

The King came to the Houſe, and gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act for granting a Supply of 600,000 *l.* for diſbanding the Army, and other Uſes therein mentioned; and to an Act for granting an additional

Duty

Duty to his Majesty upon Wines; and to an Act for burying in Woollen. This Act, which is still in force, is greatly serviceable to the Flannel Manufacture. This done, the Parliament was prorogued. 1678.

The States-General, seeing that nothing was to be hoped for from *England*, negotiated a Peace with *France*, both for themselves and *Spain*, with regard to the *Netherlands*; the King of *France* having engaged to surrender back to the *Spaniards* *Ghent*, *Ath*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, and *Limburg*.

But the *French* putting a stop to the Restitution of these Towns, till some Towns were restored which had been taken from the King of *Sweden* by the Allies in the North, this made *Charles* sign a League with the States; by which both Parties were mutually bound to continue the War for obliging the *French* to surrender the six Towns within a certain Time.

The Readiness with which this Resolution was taken by the King, very much surprized those who, from his former Behaviour, had no great Opinion of his Sincerity; and various Conjectures passed upon this Affair in regard to the true Motive: however this be, soon after a Peace was actually signed between *France* and *Holland*, and between *France* and *Spain*.

We come now to the Discovery of the famous Conspiracy, known in *England* by the Name of *The Popish Plot*; which makes one

1678. one of the principal Periods of this Reign; and has exercised so many Wits, some in supporting its Reality, others in exposing the Falsity of it.

The Plot we are upon contained three particular Designs: 1*st*, to kill the King; 2*d*, to subvert the Government; 3*d*, to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and establish Popery.

Those that speak of the Falsity of this Plot insinuate, that these three Particulars joined are inconsistent; because it is urged, that the King and the Duke of *York* were concerned in this Plot.

These that speak of the Truth of the Plot insist, that there's no Inconsistency; and alledge, that the King was privy to the two last Particulars, and the Duke of *York* (who was an active and enterprizing Man) to all three.

The 12th of *August*, Dr *Ezrael Tonge*, a *London* Divine, applied himself to one *Kirkby*, who had some Interest at Court, to desire the King might be acquainted, that he had an Information of a Plot against his Person to lay before him.

Kirkby told the King, and *Tonge* was directly sent for; who put into the Hands of the King a Writing, which in 43 Articles contained the Particulars of a Plot. The King, after a negligent Perusal, put it into the Hands of the Lord Treasurer, *Danby*; and bid *Tonge* wait on him next Morning.

The Treasurer asked *Tonge*, Whether it

it was an Original or Copy? *Tonge* anſwered, 1678.
it was thrown into his Houſe without his Knowledge; but that he gueſſed at the Author, becauſe a certain Perſon often entertained him with Matter of the like Nature.

Tonge came ſome Days after to the Treaſurer, and told him the Perſon had put another Paper into his Hands, and gave it to the Treaſurer; which named the Perſons who were deſigned to kill the King, and were called in the Paper *Honeſt William* and *Pickering*; and *Tonge* ſaid, that he had often ſeen them walk in the Park.

The Treaſurer acquainted the King with all, and prayed Orders for a Warrant to apprehend them; but the King would not ſuffer them to be apprehended, nor permit the Earl to ſpeak of the Matter to any Perſon, and particularly to the Duke of *York*.

Tonge came again to the Treaſurer, and told him, he had found out where they lodged. The King was informed of it, but would not ſuffer it to be named to any; ſaying, it would alarm all *England*, and put Thoughts of killing him into Peoples Heads who had no ſuch Thoughts before.

Surely the King either did not believe the Plot, or had ſome Intereſt to ſhew that he did not believe it, by giving ſuch a Reaſon.

Three Days after, *Tonge* writ to the Earl of *Danby*, that a Packet of Letters was to go to the Poſt-houſe, directed to one *Bedingfield*, a Prieſt, the Duke of *York*'s Confeſſor. The Packet came, and was carried

to

1678. to the Duke of *York*; who acquainted the King with it, but he would not believe any Thing real in it. However, the Duke of *York* was ſo earneſt in the Affair, that the King conſented at laſt that it ſhould be examined by the Council, and ſo it became publick.

It is ſuggeſted by ſome, that *Tonge* had employed one *Titus Oates*, who had been an Anabaptiſt Preacher, and afterwards had conformed to the Church, to inſinuate himſelf among the Papiſts, by reconciling himſelf to the Church of *Rome*; and from what was pretended to be diſcovered by *Oates*, *Tonge* and *Oates* had framed the Papers delivered to the King and Lord Treaſurer; and from this Notion the Council took no Notice of the Affair.

Tonge and *Oates* perceiving this, reſolved to lay the Matter before the Parliament. The Council being informed of this, reſolved to examine the Particulars to the Bottom, and aſſigned the Informers Lodgings at *Whitehall*; and upon their Information Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Phyſician, Mr *Edward Coleman*, the Duke of *York*'s Secretary, eight Romiſh Prieſts, and ſeveral others, were taken up.

Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, a Juſtice of the Peace, who had ſworn *Oates* to an Information which was intended to be laid before the Parliament, after having been miſſing four Days, was found dead in a Ditch, about a Mile out of *London*, with his Sword thruſt thro'

thro' his Body, his Cane and Gloves lying bye him, Rings upon his Fingers, and Money in his Pockets. This Accident rivetted the Belief of a Plot in the Minds of the People. 1678.

The Coroner's Inqueſt ſat upon the Body, and brought in their Verdict that he was murdered by certain Perſons unknown, and that his Death proceeded from Suffocation and Strangling, and that his Sword had been thruſt thro' his Body ſometime after his Death, and when he was quite cold; becauſe not the leaſt Mark of Blood was ſeen about him.

This made it paſs for a Certainty that the Papiſts were *Godfrey*'s Murderers, as it appeared afterwards; and the People were ſo univerſally incenſed againſt them, that the Court cared not to protect them openly.

The King took great Care to hinder the Examination of this Plot to come before the Parliament: For this Purpoſe he expreſly commanded the Earl of *Danby*, his Prime Miniſter, not to acquaint the two Houſes with any Thing relating to it; and ordered the Matter only to be brought before the ordinary Courts of Juſtice.

The King opened the 18th Seſſion with a Speech. He let them know, that the Army had been kept on foot for ſecuring of what was left in *Flanders*; and the Money raiſed for their diſbanding no Body could think ill employed, ſince the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation had been improved by their

1678. their Continuance: He hinted upon the Design against his Person; but forbore giving his Opinion, left he should be thought to say too much or too little, but had left the Matter to the Law.

The Earl of *Danby*, whether afraid to conceal from the House an Affair of such Importance, or willing to reconcile himself to the House, where he had a Number of powerful Enemies, communicated *Oates*'s Narrative to the Commons. The King was highly displeased with this Step, made contrary to his express Orders.

The Commons communicated these Informations to the House of Lords; and after strict Examination, both Houses presented three Addresses to the King: the first was, to pray him to appoint a Fast; the second, to require the Removal of Popish Recusants out of *London*; the third, to pray the King to give Orders to the Lord Chamberlain, that no unknown Person might have Access to his Majesty.

Soon after, *Oates* was examined for seven Hours before the House of Commons; and after his Examination, the general Interrogatory being put, whether he knew any Thing more of the Plot; he answered, he did not: yet afterwards added several Things to his Deposition, which is one of the Objections brought against *Oates*'s Evidence.

The Commons resolved *Nemine contradicente*, upon *Oates*'s Evidence, that there is, and hath been, a damnable Plot, contrived and

and carried on by Popiſh Recuſants, for murdering the King, ſubverting the Government, and deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion. The Lords, in a Conference with the Commons, unanimouſly concurred with them; and both Houſes reſolved upon proper Methods for Preventionof theſe imminent Dangers. 1678.

The ſame Day the Commons ſent for the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scrogs*, who took *Oates*'s Examination upon Oath, and in the Houſe ſealed 26 Warrants for apprehending Perſons he ſwore againſt; amongſt whom were the Lords *Powis*, *Stafford*, *Arundel* of *Wardour*, *Petre*, *Bellaſis*, and Sir *Henry Tichburn*, Bart. all Papiſts, who were ſent to the Tower, and the reſt to ſeveral Priſons.

The King was ſo perſuaded of his being ſuſpected, that he ſeemed equally convinced with the Parliament of the Danger which threatened the Kingdom; therefore commanded all Popiſh Recuſants (except ſettled Houſe-keepers who would take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) to depart the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and all Places within 10 Miles thereof, which they accordingly did; but in leſs than a Fortnight returned again.

The Commons, not ſatisfied with theſe ſlight Precautions, prepared a Bill to prevent Papiſts from ſitting in Parliament, and particularly in the Houſe of Lords.

The King, perceiving the Drift of the Commons, repaired to the Houſe, ſent for them

1678. them, and made a Speech, that he would paſs any Law they would make for the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion.

One *Bedloe*, who took upon him the Title of Captain *Bedloe*, writ to Secretary *Coventry*, that he had many Secrets to diſcover if they would but arreſt and examine him, which was done; and in his Examination before the Houſe of Lords, he declared, that all the Papiſts were to riſe at once, and receive ſeveral Succours from abroad, and to act under Commiſſions from the Pope, and ſo eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion; and that he had four Sacraments of Secrecy given him, and that his Office was to carry Intelligence from Place to Place.

This made the Commons addreſs his Majeſty, that all Papiſts (except his Majeſty's *Portugal* Servants) ſhould take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; but before any Anſwer they were informed, that ſeveral Commiſſions had been granted to Popiſh Recuſants, and Warrants alſo that they ſhould be muſtered, notwithſtanding they had not taken the Oaths; and that they were ſigned by Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Secretary of State. Upon this Information the Commons ſent *Williamſon* directly to the Tower.

This much offended the King, who ſoon after ſent and releaſed him. They then addreſſed the King, and deſired him to recall all Commiſſions granted to Papiſts; which he promiſed to do.

About

About this Time the Bill to diſable Papiſts from ſitting in Parliament paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and afterwards the Houſe of Lords, tho' with ſome Difficulty: The King likewiſe publiſhed a Proclamation, with a Promiſe of a Reward for apprehending Romiſh Prieſts or Jeſuits. 1678.

The King gave his Aſſent to the above Bill, and was willing to recall his Forces from *Flanders*, which the Commons had requeſted.

The Commons alſo brought in a Bill for raiſing a third Part of the Militia, to be in conſtant Arms for a Time; but the King rejected that, alledging that would be putting the Militia out of his own Power, which he would not do, no not for an Hour.

The King finding he could not ſtem the Torrent which run ſo high againſt the Papiſts; and, to remove all Suſpicions of his having a Hand in the Plot as far as he was able, he left the Papiſts expoſed to the Reſentment of the Parliament, and ſuffered the apprehended Conſpirators to be brought to their Trials.

Edward Coleman, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, was firſt brought to his Trial at the King's Bench Bar, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scrogs*. *Oates* and *Bedloe* were the two Witneſſes produced againſt him, and ſeveral Letters under his own Hand; by which it fully appeared, that the Plot was, to eſtabliſh Popery, to kill the King, and place the Duke, his Maſter, upon the

1678. Throne; in which the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and the Pope, were to aſſiſt.

The Jury brought in their Verdict, guilty of High Treaſon; and he was hanged and quartered according to Cuſtom.

The King ſoon after iſſued a Proclamation, with 200*l.* Reward for the Diſcovery of any more concern'd in the Plot againſt the King and Government, and a Pardon to Principals. *Oates* and *Bedloe*, before the King and Council, accuſed the Queen of being privy, and conſenting to poiſon the King by the Hands of *Wakeman*; but the King thought proper to ſtop this Accuſation by his Authority.

Ireland, *Pickering*, and *Grove*, were tried next, and received Sentence of Death as in Caſes of High Treaſon. It was proved, that they were to kill the King for a Sum of Money, by the Evidence of *Oates* and *Bedloe*; and that they were privy to the whole Plot.

The Earl of *Danby*, Lord Treaſurer, was looked upon as the King's Prime Miniſter, and Articles of Impeachment were drawn up againſt him; the Strength whereof lay in thoſe Articles which related to the Negotiation with *France* on the Affair of the King's Penſion.

The King was aimed at in this, none diſputing but *Danby* acted by his Order. This put the Earl to a great Strait: He was enjoined to Secrecy by the King, who promiſed him his Pardon.

The King plainly ſeeing he was aimed at

in this Accusation, came to the House before the Lords came to a Resolution, whether he should be sent to the Tower, and prorogued the Parliament for six Weeks. 1678.

Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Secretary of State, resigned the Seals to the King, who appointed the Earl of *Sunderland* to succeed him. Sir *William Temple*, Ambassador at *Holland*, expected the Place, by Promise, and came over for that Purpose; but *Sunderland* giving *Williamson* 6500 *l.* upon resigning, was introduced in a proper Manner.

The King took the Treasurer's Staff from the Earl of *Danby*, and put the Treasury into Commission.

One *Wren*, who lodged in the House of one *Miles Prance*, a Goldsmith, informed the Council, that *Prance* was one concerned in the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. *Prance* underwent several Examinations; and, at last, upon Promise of Pardon, discovered five more Papists and himself to be the Murderers.

The King considering the present Temper of the Commons, dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation, and issued Writs for calling a new one by the 6th of *March*. Thus ended the long Parliament, which had continued almost 18 Years, and had been for 12 Years so favourable to the King.

Three of the Murderers, *Green*, *Hill*, and *Berry*, were tried, condemned, and executed, tho' they declared themselves innocent to the last.

The

1678. The King finding the Storm gathering against the Duke of *York*, writ an affectionate Letter to him, and, withall, to desire him to withdraw out of the Kingdom for a While. He directly obeyed, and set out for *Holland*, with his Dutchess, and the Princess *Ann*, his Daughter.

The Parliament being just for meeting, *Charles* fearing the Earl of *Danby* might reveal some Secrets out of Dread, granted him, under the Great Seal, a full and compleat Pardon.

The new Parliament met the 6th of *March*, and the King made a Speech, setting forth how ready he had been to grant all they could desire for the promoting of the Protestant Religion; and demanding Money to disband the Army, and discharge the Arrears due to the Navy.

A warm Dispute arose between *Charles* and the Commons about the Choice of a Speaker. They chose Mr *Edward Seymour*: But his Majesty knowing him to be an Enemy of the Earl of *Danby*'s, would not give his Approbation; so they were forced to chuse again, to put an End to the Dispute, which lasted six Days, and chose Mr *Gregory*, Serjeant at Law.

The Commons began with appointing a Committee to enquire into controverted Elections, 60 Petitions being already presented.

The Lords and Commons both voted, that, for some Years last past, there had been

been a horrid and treaſonable Plot carried on 1678.
by the Papiſts, for murdering his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, and for ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion; and addreſſed his Majeſty to appoint a ſolemn Day of Humiliation and Faſting throughout the whole Kingdom; which was accordingly done.

The Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in, to ſecure his Majeſty and the Kingdom againſt the Danger and Growth of Popery.

At the ſame Time his Majeſty ſpoke to both Houſes in favour of the Earl of *Danby*; but the Commons, unmoved with this Speech, demanded that the Earl might be taken into Cuſtody. The Lords ſeeing this, offered to the Commons the Heads of a Bill, by which the Earl ſhould be for ever baniſhed from the Preſence of his Majeſty, rendered incapable of all Offices and Employments, and deprived of his Seat in Parliament: But the Commons, being reſolved to ſearch into the Bottom of the Affair, rejected the Bill.

The Commons hearing that his Majeſty had ſigned a Pardon for the Earl, ſent a Committee to the Chancellor, to know how the Great Seal came to be put to it; who anſwered, that his Majeſty ſent for the Seal, and did it privately in his Cloſet.

The Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, to acquaint them, that the Earl of *Danby* had withdrawn, and could not be found; whereupon they brought in a Bill to ſummon him to appear, or to attaint him.

Then

1679. Then the Commons drew up Articles of Impeachment againſt the five Lords in the Tower, and carried them up to the Houſe of Lords.

Danby ſeeing he could no-way get over the Bill of Attainder, ſurrendered himſelf to the Uſher of the Black Road, and was carried to the Tower. His Majeſty was now involved in greater Difficulties than ever, fearing his Secrets would now be divulged.

The Commons were alarmed by an Information received, that the Papiſts had a Deſign to burn *London*. The Houſe of one *Bird*, of *Fetter-lane*, was ſet on Fire by his Servant, *Elizabeth Oxley*. She being taken, confeſſed, that ſhe was employ'd ſo to do by one *Stubs*, a Papiſt, who had promiſed her 5 *l.*

Stubs being taken, confeſſed the Fact; and declared, that Father *Gifford*, his Confeſſor, put him upon it; telling him, there was no Sin in burning all the Houſes of Hereticks.

Stubs and the Maid declared alſo, that the Papiſts were to make an Inſurrection, and expected an Army of 60,000 Men from *France*. *Stubs* and the Maid were pardoned, in Conſideration of their ready Confeſſion.

This made the Commons addreſs his Majeſty, to pray him to order the Execution of *Pickering*, the Jeſuit, and other condemned Prieſts.

On the Morrow, tho' *Sunday*, the Commons

mons met, to consider of the Means to preserve his Majesty's Person, and the Protestant Religion, against the Attempts of Papists; and brought in a Bill to banish all Papists from coming within 20 Miles of *London* for six Months; and voted, that the Duke of *York*, being a Papist, encouraged all these Conspiracies and Designs. 1679.

The Earl of *Danby* appeared at the Bar of the House of Lords, and pleaded his Majesty's Pardon. The Commons were of Opinion, that it was without Precedent, to grant a Pardon in Cases of High Treason; and asked the Earl, if he would rely on it, who had four Days to give an Answer.

Charles and the Chancellor made each a Speech to the House; setting forth how ready the King would be, on all Occasions, to pass Laws for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, under any Successor that might be a Papist: but this made little Impression on the Commons, who knew the Laws were seldom put in Execution when made; so fell upon the Bill for preventing the Dangers arising from Popery; and also a Bill for the better Prevention of illegal Exaction of Money from the Subjects; and another, that when any Member should be preferred to any Office or Place of Profit, a new Writ should immediately issue to elect one in his Stead.

The Commons resolved, that the Pardon pleaded by *Danby* was illegal and void, and went to the House of Lords to demand Judgment.

Shortly

1679. Shortly after they drew up an Addreſs, in the moſt aggravating Terms, againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and carried it in a full Body to his Majeſty; who ſaid he would conſider of it.

Charles ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by the Lord *Ruſſel*, to acquaint them, that he complied with their Requeſt concerning *Pickering*'s Execution; that the Houſe of Peers had ſent for the condemned Prieſts to be examined; and that the Trial of the Lords, and the Bill for the Security of Religion, ſhould be gone upon.

After this Meſſage, the Commons finiſhed the Money Bill for diſbanding the Army, and granted 260,462 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* This Act had a Clauſe, that no Soldier, for the future, ſhould be quarter'd in private Houſes againſt their Conſent.

The Lords informed the Commons, that the Earl of *Danby* reſolved to adhere to the Plea of his Pardon; and likewiſe, that the five Lords in the Tower ſhould be brought to their Trials; and Days were appointed for hearing.

The Commons were ſo heated at the Earl of *Danby*'s Plea, that they reſolved that no Commoner ſhould preſume to maintain the Validity of the Pardon pleaded, without the Conſent of the Houſe firſt had, or be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of *England*. The true Reaſon of theſe Proceedings was, they thought to diſcover, by the Examination of the ſeveral

Articles of the Earl's Impeachment, his Majesty's secret Practices with *France*; whereas, if the Pardon pleaded took place, they would be deprived, 1679.

The Earl of *Danby* petitioned the House; in which he set forth, that he was informed by his Council of the Vote made by the Commons about the Validity of his Pardon; and that he durst not rely thereon, if any such Vote was passed.

A Committtee of both Houses met at the Request of the Commons, to consider of the Way and Method of trying the impeached Lords, and a warm Dispute began. The Commons pretended, that the Lords Spiritual had no Right to sit in the Court during the Trial, as it was a Case of Blood. The Lords insisted, that they had a Right to sit till the Court proceeded to the Vote of Guilty, or not guilty. This Affair made a great Noise; and several Books were writ on both Sides.

Upon a Debate, it was carried by a Majority, that the Bishops had a Right to vote; whereupon the Commons declared, they would not proceed. Upon this Breach the Parliament was, soon after a Prorogation, dissolved.

The Blame was cast upon the Bishops for insisting to vote; but *Burnet* says, they desired to withdraw, but his Majesty would not suffer it. He told the Bishops, they must stick by him and his Prerogative, as they would expect his Aid if push'd at.

1679. The Exclusion Bill passed the House of Commons, Yeas 207, Noes 128, to the Purport following: "That *James* Duke of "*York*, *Albany*, and *Ulster*, should be incapable of inheriting the Crowns of *England*, "*Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and enjoying any "of the Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and "Revenues belonging to the said Crowns; "and that, in case of his Majesty's Death, "they should devolve to the Person next in "Succession, as if the said Duke were dead." This Bill made it High Treason in any that should aid or assist the Duke in any Attempt of Succession.

The Commons made an Enquiry after the Pensioners in the last Parliament. Eighteen were discovered who had received annual Pensions from his Majesty; two 1000 *l.* a-piece, six 500 *l.* two 400 *l.* four 300 *l.* and four 200 *l.* Besides, there were six others, who had received certain Sums at one Time; and these had the Influence of several Votes besides their own.

Charles being informed, that the Commons had a Design to present to him a Remonstrance, not much unlike that presented to *Charles*, his Father, in 1681, and which was intended to inflame the Nation against him, went to the House of Lords the 27th of *May*, and sending for the Commons, passed some Bills; and one particularly for securing the Liberties of the Subject, called *The Habeas Corpus Act*; and then prorogued the Parliament to the 14th of *August*. By this

this the Exclusion Bill was dropt for a 1679.
Time.

The News of the Proceedings of the *English* Parliament had so raised the Hopes of the *Scots* Malcontents, that they thought this a Time to be revenged upon their Persecutors; the principal of which was *Sharp*, Archbishop of St *Andrew*'s, who had done sufficient to merit the Hatred of the Presbyterians.

Twelve of the Presbyterians waited for the Archbishop two Miles from St *Andrew*'s, whither he was going in a Coach and Six, and most inhumanly and barbarously murdered him.

Soon after 80 Presbyterians appeared in Arms, and in a few Days their Number increased to 1500. They seized *Glasgow*, and some other Towns in the Neighbourhood, and committed great Disorders.

Charles hearing of this Rebellion, sent the Duke of *Monmouth* at the Head of some *English* Forces, who were joined by some *Scots* Regiments. He acquitted himself with such Bravery and Success, that he entirely defeated the Rebels, killed 800, and took above 1200 Prisoners. Several were hanged, and the rest transported into the *American* Islands.

Shortly after the Prorogation of the Parliament, the Trial of the five Jesuits, *Whitebeard*, *Harcourt*, *Fenwick*, *Gawen*, and *Turner*, came on at the *Old Baily*.

Oates, and one *Dugdale*, were produced as

1679. as Witnesses against them, and some Letters read; and also *Prance* and *Bedloe* were examined: who fully proved the Plot, and a Design to kill his Majesty; and that these were the Persons hired for that Purpose; that an Army was in readiness to rise, and Popery thereupon to be established. The Jury, after a short Consideration, brought all the Prisoners in guilty of High Treason.

Langhorn, a Counsellor at Law, a Papist, was tried the next Day, and the same Evidences produced: He made but a very weak Defence, and was brought in guilty also. They were all sentenced to be executed, and died without making any Confession.

The King, contrary to the Advice of his Council, dissolved the Parliament, and summoned another to meet the 17th of *October*. He was in Hopes of finding the next more compliable, but was much mistaken; for the People took Care to send Members of the Country Party, as the most proper to oppose the Designs of the King. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was at the Head of this Party, and did his utmost to blow up the Passions of the People.

Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician, was brought upon his Trial, together with *James Parker*, *William Marshal*, two Benedictine Monks, and *William Rumley*, a Lay Brother of that Order. *Oates* and *Bedloe* were the Witnesses, who accused them of a Design to poison the King: but these

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Depositions being imperfect, and the greatest Part upon Hearsay, the Prisoners were acquitted. This was look'd on as the Queen's Trial, it seems, as well as *Wakeman*'s. 1679.

The Duke of *York* being returned, he, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Halifax*, finding that the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* were in great Favour with the King, (the first was Captain-General, the latter President of the Council) used their utmost Endeavours to ruin them, and managed Matters so that both their Posts were taken from them; and the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent into *Holland*, to the great Surprize of the whole Court. Thus the Court had a new Face, and the Duke of *York* was more powerful than ever.

The Duke made use of this Conjuncture to obtain the King's Leave to retire to *Scotland*: and accordingly he and his Dutchess, and the Princess *Ann*, set out for *Scotland*; where he gave manifest Tokens of his Cruelty and inveterate Hatred against the Presbyterians.

Every one expected with great Impatience the Result of these Alterations at Court, and it was not long before it appeared. The King summoning his Council, told them, he had several weighty Reasons why he should prorogue the Parliament till that Time Twelve-months; which he could not then acquaint them with, and would hear nothing against it.

The Council was surprized at this sudden Re-

1679. Resolution. Some offering to lay before his Majesty the dangerous Consequences, were enjoin'd Silence. Sir *William Temple*, however, more bold than the rest, stood up and made a long Speech, setting forth the dangerous Consequences that would attend so unprecedented a Proceeding.

This made several of the Council surrender their Commissions, and others to absent themselves, not caring to support the King in this secret Resolution. The Earl of *Essex* laid down his Place of First Commissioner of the Treasury; the Lord *Halifax*, Sir *William Temple*, and others, retired into the Country. Thus the Direction of publick Affairs devolved upon the Earl of *Sunderland*, Mr *Lawrence Hyde*, and Mr *Sidney Godolphin*: or rather the Duke of *York*, whose Interests they had embraced; and who, tho' absent, directed their Resolutions.

A little before the proroguing of the Parliament, a sham Plot was discover'd, contrived by the Papists to bring an Odium upon the Presbyterians and the Heads of the Country Party. This Project was laid by the Countess of *Powis*, one *Cellier* a Midwife, the Earl of *Castlemain*, and the five Lords in the Tower.

The Design was, to trump up false Witnesses to accuse *Oates* of Perjury and Sodomy; to have the Earl of *Shaftsbury* assassinated; and to charge the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Halifax*, and several considerable

derable Citizens in *London*, with being concern'd in a Plot againſt the King. 1680.

One *Dangerfield* was to be principal Actor in this Farce. The Confederates had put into his Hands a Model of the pretended Plot, which he was to convey into the Houſe of one of the Sham Conſpirators, and there cauſe it to be found.

Dangerfield, thus furniſhed with his Inſtructions, informed the Duke of *York* of it, who gave him Twenty Guineas, and introduced him to the King; who, after he had heard him, gave him Forty more. Afterwards he made ſome Attempts to aſſaſſinate the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, but was always prevented by ſome Accident.

At laſt *Dangerfield*, on pretence of viewing ſome Lodgings, he ſaid, he deſigned to hire, went to Colonel *Manſel*'s, and found an Opportunity to pin ſome dangerous Papers behind his Bed's Head: This done, he went to inform two Officers of the Cuſtoms, that there were, in theſe Lodgings, prohibited Goods to the Value of 2000 *l.*

The Officers immediately repaired thither, and ſearched; but not looking behind the Bed's Head, *Dangerfield* himſelf found the Papers. The Officers having carried the Papers to their Superiors, had Orders to return them to *Manſel*. A few Days after, the Colonel meeting *Dangerfield* in the Street, carried him directly to *Whitehall*, and brought him before the King and Council.

He

1680. He was ſtrictly examined, detected, and ſent to *Newgate*.

Two Days after, Sir *William Waller*, a Magiſtrate of *London*, ſearching *Cellier*'s Houſe, found the Model of the pretended Plot, fair writ in a Book tied with Ribbands, and hid in a Meal-tub; which gave it the Name of the *Meal-tub Plot*.

Dangerfield was carried before the Lord Mayor of *London*, and gave him in writing a Confeſſion, upon Oath, of the whole Affair, and the Perſons that ſet him on Work.

This Confeſſion being ſent to the Council, ſeveral Perſons were taken up; and amongſt the reſt the Earl of *Caſtlemain*. The Counteſs of *Powis*, accuſed by others, beſides *Dangerfield*, of conſpiring the Death of the King, was ſent to the Tower, and order'd to be proſecuted for High Treaſon.

Affairs being in this Situation, the King had Need of all his Patience and Addreſs. There were viſibly two Factions in the Kingdom, that of the Court, and that of the Country: Swarms of Libels, to inflame the People againſt the Court, were diſtributed. The Year Forty-one ſeemed now to be going to be acted over again. Petitions were ſent from all Parts, to pray the King to aſſemble the Parliament; but they were received with Indignation, declaring it a manifeſt Invaſion upon his Prerogative, to pretend to direct him when to hold a Parliament. However, the King ſent for the Duke of *York*, to be preſent at the Meeting,

ing of the Parliament, which was to be the 15th of *April*. 1680.

A great Number of Addreſſes came to the King from the two Parties now formed, the King's Party teſtifying an Abhorrence of the Liberty which was taken by ſome Men to require him to hold a Parliament, and Thanks for recalling the Duke of *York*: And a great Number of contrary Addreſſes were preſented in Abhorrence of the former; ſo that the Parties formed were called *The Petitioners*, and *The Abhorrers*: And from hence came the ſo much famed Diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory*. The Petitioners were called *The Whigs*, and the Abhorrers *The Tories*; and theſe Names have been tranſmitted down to our Age.

The Earl of *Shaftſbury*, looking upon the Duke of *York* as his mortal Enemy, was perſuaded, that either himſelf or the Duke muſt fall; therefore had made it his Endeavour to tutor up the Duke of *Monmouth*, and make him the Darling of the People. With this View it was, at leaſt as it is ſaid, that the Earl of *Shaftſbury* found Means to ſpread a Report, that the King was lawfully married with Mrs *Walters*, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother.

This made the King have the Matter examined in Council, and a Declaration enter'd in the Council Books, that he never was married to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, or any Woman whatſoever, but to his preſent Queen *Katharine*, then living.

1680. This Summer were ſeveral Proſecutions and Trials: The Earl of *Caſtlemain*, a Papiſt, and Huſband to the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, the King's Miſtreſs, was brought to his Trial and acquitted; and alſo *Cellier*, the Midwife. Shortly after, ſhe publiſhed a Narrative of her Trial, with ſevere Reflections upon ſome Perſons then in Credit; for which ſhe was tried a ſecond Time, and ſentenced to ſtand three Times in the Pillory, and pay a Fine of 1000 *l.* The Grand Jury found not the Bill againſt theOunteſs of *Powis*. Thus all the Perſons concerned in the Meal-tub Plot were acquitted. The Torrent did not then run in favour of the Party againſt the Court.

Bedloe, the Evidence, died at *Briſtol*. Four Days before his Death, Lord Chief Juſtice *North*, then in his Circuit, examined him; and he declared, that all he had ſaid concerning the Plot was true; that the Duke of *York* was privy to it, and the Queen, ſo far as related to the bringing in of Popery, but not in the Murder of the King.

The City of *London* was in the Country Party, and gave it great Reputation. The Lord Mayor humbly beſought his Majeſty that the Parliament might ſpeedily aſſemble. Whether this Addreſs produced any Effect, or the King had before determined it, is not known; however, he ordered the Parliament to ſit the 21ſt of *October*.

The Duke of *Monmouth* returned from *Holland* without Leave; and, inſtead of going

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to Court, he made ſeveral Progreſſes in the Kingdom, to encourage his Friends, and increaſe their Number. The Men of this Party were reſolved to run all Hazards, and either ruin themſelves or the Duke of *York*, the next Seſſion of Parliament. With this View the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, attended by a Dozen of Lords and Gentlemen of Note, went publickly to *Weſtminſter-hall*, and at the King's Bench Bar, by a Bill in Form, preſented the Duke of *York* as a Popiſh Recuſant. 1680.

The King, upon this, obliged the Duke to return to *Scotland* (after repeated Aſſurances of his unalterable Affection, and conſtant Adherence to him) the Day before the Parliament met.

The Bill in the King's Bench had no Conſequence in the Forms of the Court, by reaſon of the ſudden Diſmiſſion of the Grand Jury.

The Parliament being met, the King made a Speech, ſetting forth, That nothing ſhould be wanting on his Part for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion. He recommended to them the farther Examination of the Plot; and that the Lords in the Tower might be brought to their Trial ſpeedily.

During this whole Reign the King's Religion was kept a Secret to many; tho', before his Reſtoration, he had abjured the Proteſtant Religion, and profeſſed the Popiſh, yet ſecretly: ſo that his frequent Proteſtations muſt be thought monſtrous, which

1680. which could have no other Tendency but to deceive his Subjects.

After the Speaker was chosen, and approved of by the King, the Commons soon discovered what was to be expected from them, by expelling some of their Members who had been amongst the Abhorrers.

They also ordered an Address to be presented to the King, to remove from all publick Offices, Sir *George Jefferies*, Serjeant at Law, Recorder of *London*, and Chief Justice of *Chester*, as guilty of the same Crime, and a Betrayer of the Rights of the Subject.

The next Thing was the Exclusion Bill, which was read, to disable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown of this Realm, he being a Papist, and privy to the countenancing the present Designs and Conspiracies against his Majesty and the Protestant Religion.

Several Days were taken up in Debates upon this Bill, and at last it passed the House by a great Majority.

The Exclusion Bill was sent up to the House of Lords. It passed upon the first Reading only by two Voices; but on the second Reading was thrown out by a Majority of 63 against 30. *Burnet* says, all the Bishops voted against the Bill; and *Rapin* says, three were for it. The King was present at the whole Debate, which lasted till near Midnight.

It was a terrible Mortification to the Commons, to see their favourite Bill thus thrown out

out by the Lords: They grew ſo ſullen and 1680.
out of Humour, that they fell upon ſeveral Members of their own Houſe, expelling ſome, and impeaching and impriſoning others; as likewiſe ſome Perſons not of their Houſe, for being of the Number of the Abhorrers.

The 30th of *November* came on the Trial of *William Howard*, Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, one of the five Popiſh Lords in the Tower, who were accuſed of having been concerned in the Plot. He was tried before the Lords in *Weſtminſter-hall*; the Lord Chancellor having upon that Occaſion been appointed by his Majeſty to perform the Office of High Steward.

The Witneſſes that depoſed againſt him, were *Dugdale*, *Oates*, and *Turberville*. This Trial took up a whole Week, and his Defence was ſo weak, that he was found guilty by a Majority of 55 againſt 31.

The 29th of *December* he was beheaded, being 68 Years of Age. He proteſted his Innocence to the laſt Moment.

The Commons after this reſolved themſelves into a grand Committee, how to ſecure the Kingdom againſt Popery and Arbitrary Government; and, after a warm Debate, they reſolved,

That a Bill be brought in immediately, to baniſh all the conſiderable Papiſts out of the Kingdom. Then, upon Reference made to an Act of Queen *Elizabeth* for an Aſſociation, they came to a like Reſolution, That a

Bill

1681. Bill be brought in for an Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Subjects, for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions; and for preventing the Duke of *York*, or any other Papiſt, from ſucceeding to the Crown.

After this the Commons addreſſed his Majeſty that a Bill might be brought in for the more effectual ſecuring of Meetings and Sittings of frequent Parliaments; and alſo to diſable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown; and that the Judges might hold their Places and Salaries, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*: That theſe Things being granted, they would be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty for the Preſervation of *Tangier*, then beſieged by the King of *Morocco* (which his Majeſty had requeſted by a Meſſage) and would enable him to put his Fleet into ſuch a Condition, as might preſerve his Majeſty's Sovereignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation. The King took a Fortnight before he gave an Anſwer to this Addreſs.

The Commons concluded the Year with this Vote, That no Member of the Houſe ſhould accept of any Place of Profit from the Crown, without Leave of the Houſe.

The King found himſelf very much at a Loſs, what Anſwer to give to the Commons Addreſs, and his Council was divided about it. Some were for returning no Anſwer. The

The four principal Directors of the King's Affairs, namely, *Sunderland*, *Halifax*, Mr *Hyde*, and Mr *Godolphin*, were for dissolving the present Parliament, and calling no more for the future. 1681.

The King at last resolved to give an Answer, and said, he was sorry to see their Thoughts so wholly fixed upon the Bill of Exclusion, as to determine, that all other Methods for the suppressing of Popery would be ineffectual. He recommended to them any other Means for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, which should have his Concurrence. He desired they would enable him to preserve *Tangier*, and secure the Alliances abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.

The Commons were busy, when this Answer came in, drawing up an Impeachment against Chief Justice *Scrogs*; who was accused of endeavouring to stifle the Belief of the Plot, discouraging the King's Evidences, and dismissing the Grand Jury that should have presented the Duke of *York*.

In this Interval the Lords sent to the Commons a Vote passed by them; that they declared, and were fully satisfied, that there now was, and for divers Years last had been, a horrid and treasonable Plot, continued and carried on by the *Irish* Papists, for massacring the *English*, and subverting the Protestant Religion. The Commons readily concurred in this Vote.

The King's Answer being read, the Commons

1681. mons passed a Vote, that all other Means, without passing a Bill to disable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown, would be insufficient and dangerous; and that they could grant no Supply to his Majesty, until such Bill should pass, without Danger to his Majesty's Person, and extreme Hazard of the Protestant Religion; and that those who advised the King against the Bill, were Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom.

The Commons having Notice, that the King intended next Day to prorogue the Parliament, came early in the Morning, and passed a Vote, that whoever advised the King to prorogue the Parliament (to any other Purpose than in order to pass a Bill for the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*) were Betrayers of the King, the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of *England*, and Promoters of the *French* Interest: and that it was the Opinion of the House, that the Acts of Parliament, made in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*, against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters; and that the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters, upon the penal Laws, is, at this Time, grievous to the Subject, a weakening the Protestant Interest, an Encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.

This was done in favour of the Presbyterians, and that they might see how the Parli-

liament ſtood affected to them, the better to discourage the Growth of Popery. 1681.

This was no ſooner over than the King came to the Houſe, ſent for the Commons, and prorogued the Parliament till the 20th of *January*; and the 18th of *January* he iſſued a Proclamation, and thereby diſſolved the Parliament: and at the ſame time, he ſummoned another, to meet at *Oxford*, the 21ſt of *March*; being offended with the City of *London* for addreſſing his Majeſty to let the Parliament ſit, on the Day they were prorogued to, for Diſpatch of Buſineſs.

Several of the Privy Counſellors ſeeing that the Houſe of Commons was ſo attached to the Excluſion Bill, that nothing elſe would ſerve; and being afraid that the King would fall off, and give up the Point, as he had done on other Occaſions: therefore, the Earl of *Sunderland* fell off firſt, and, in direct Diſobedience to the King's Order, voted for the Excluſion Bill in the Houſe of Lords; the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Saliſbury* did the ſame, both Privy Counſellors. This Conduct gave the Country Party Hopes that the King would at laſt comply. Sir *William Temple* came over likewiſe.

The King, notwithſtanding all this, ſeemed immovable in the Affair of his Brother: for he ſoon after removed the Earl of *Sunderland* from being Secretary; and gave the Place to the Earl of *Conway*. He likewiſe ſtruck out of the Liſt of Privy Counſellors the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Saliſbury*, *Sunderland*,

1681. and Sir *William Temple*; and filled the Vacancies with Men whose Principles were more agreeable to his own. He made some Alterations amongst the Judges; and seemed to support his Brother at all Adventures.

The new Privy Counsellors were the Earls of *Oxford*, *Chesterfield*, *Alesbury*, and the Lord *Craven*.

The Country Party were busy all this time: *London* chose their old Members, as did most Places in the Kingdom; so the King, to his Vexation, saw he was only to meet the Parliament he had just dissolved.

This done, the Earl of *Essex*, attended by sixteen Lords, delivered a Petition to the King; setting forth the Dangers and bad Consequences that might attend his Majesty, and the Nation, by having the Parliament to meet at *Oxford*; and humbly prayed his Majesty to alter his Resolution, and let the Parliament sit at *Westminster* as usual.

To this Address the King returned not one Word of Answer; but contented himself with frowning upon the Lords who presented it.

All this while the two Parties preserved no Decency with their Pens; Libels swarmed with Impunity.

The Parliament being met at *Oxford*, the King made a Speech to both Houses. He recommended to them the further Examination of the Popish Plot; and desired their Advice and Assistance concerning the Preservation of *Tangier*: He desired they would

not

not lay so much Weight upon one Expedient against Popery, as to determine that all others were ineffectual: What he had formerly said touching the Succession, he would not depart from; but would be willing to remove all Suspicions, that the Administration of the Government might remain in Protestant Hands, if any such Expedient could be brought about. 1681.

A Motion was made in the House of Commons, for the printing of the Votes; and was carried. Their Design was, to let the People see the Necessity of the Exclusion Bill; and that they might not be deceived by general unauthorized Accounts of it. For the contrary Reason, the King was unwilling to let the People into the Detail of this Affair; but his Party was not strong enough to prevent it: and from that time the Votes of the Commons have continued to be printed, to the great Advantage and Profit of the Speaker.

The Commons moved once more to bring in the Exclusion Bill; but being warmly opposed by Secretary *Jenkins*, they agreed, in order to shew the King all Respect that might be, to set a Day a-part to consider of other Expedients. The Day being come, a Paper was read in the House; whereby it was proposed, that the Duke of *York* should be banished during his Life 500 Miles from *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; that the Goverment, upon the Demise of the King, be vested in a Regent for the Duke's Life;

1681. Life; that the Regent be the Princess of *Orange*; and in case of her Decease without Issue, or with Issue in Minority, then the Lady *Ann*; that if the Duke have a Son educated a Protestant, then the said Princesses, respectively, should succeed in the Regency, during the Minority of such Son only.

The Commons were so set upon the Exclusion Bill, that they rejected the Expedients, and read again the Exclusion Bill; Sir *Leoline Jenkins* alone spoke against it, and it was read a second Time.

The Dutchess of *Portsmouth* had sent several Presents, and particularly one of 250 Guineas, to one *Fitz Harris*, an *Irish* Papist; who was to write a severe Libel against the King, and prevail with one *Everard* to drop it in the Houses of several who were Enemies to the Court, and particularly in those of the Presbyterians.

Everard feigned to consent, but communicated the Affair to Sir *William Waller*; who lay concealed at the Time when *Fitz Harris* gave *Everard* the Heads of the Libel, and heard all, and informed the King of it. His Majesty ordered *Fitz Harris* to be arrested, and sent to the Tower; and being brought to his Trial, the Dutchess owned she had given him Money, but meerly out of Charity. *Fitz Harris* insisted he had done nothing but by Order: notwithstanding, he was condemned and executed; while the Publick was at a Loss to comprehend for what Reason an *Irish* Papist should publish

a Libel against the King, if it was not an Artifice of the Court Party; and as *Waller* and *Everard* might not be at the Bottom of the Secret, thus prevented its further Execution. Be that as it will, the Commons thought fit to take the Affair under their Consideration, and would have him impeached before the House of Lords, the better to find out the Bottom of the Affair; but the Lords rejected the Impeachment, and he was prosecuted at Common Law. 1681.

The Commons, after reading the Exclusion Bill the second Time, resumed the Debate about *Fitz Harris*'s being tried upon the Impeachment; when, on a sudden, the Usher of the Black-rod commanded their Attendance in the House of Lords, where they found the King in his Robes; who told them, he perceived there were great Heats between the Lords and Commons; and their Beginnings had been such, that he could expect no good Success of this Parliament: therefore he thought fit to dissolve them.

The King took Coach directly and rid to *Windsor*, and next Morning to *Whitehall*, seeming extreamly pleased that he had thus made his Escape from the Designs of the Commons. This Parliament, which sat but seven Days, was the fifth and last of the present Reign.

From this Time *Charles*, as long as he lived, governed with absolute Power. He now pulled off the Mask of Dissimulation, and let the World see, that the Prosecutions

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1681. he recommended againſt the Papiſts, and the Diſcovery of the Plot, appeared now to him a meer Chimera. The four Lords in the Tower, whom he would once have ſacrificed to the Parliament, now appeared innocent to him: But, what was ſtill more remarkable, even to the End of this Reign, the King grew as cruel and bloody, as he had hitherto appeared gentle and merciful; and that, as ſoon as he had the Power in his Hands, he let his Enemies feel the moſt terrible Effects of his Vengeance. In a word, he made it clearly appear by his Conduct, that he was entirely in the Principles of deſpotick Power, and had only diſſembled from the firſt Years of his Reign.

The two Factions now on foot were, firſt, the Tories; compoſed of all the rigid Epiſcopalians, of all the Papiſts, and of all thoſe to whom all Religions were indifferent, and had no other Views but thoſe of raiſing their Fortunes by the Court: and *England* had never more of this laſt ſort than in this Reign.

Secondly, the Whigs; compoſed of all the Preſbyterians, and ſome Members of the Church of *England*; who were more attached to the Intereſts of the State, and the Proteſtant Religion in general, than to that of the Church of *England* in particular.

Tho' theſe two Factions thus conſiſted, yet the Papiſts had in view the bringing in of Popery and arbitrary Power; and the Preſ-

Presbyterians, on the other hand, were in Hopes of undermining the Foundations of Monarchy, the more easily to pull down the Church; and the Episcopalians in each Party were now become the only Persons whose Care it was to look to the true Interest of the Church of *England*, and carry the Balance; so that neither Popery, nor Presbyterianism, should take place. 1681.

The King published a Declaration, setting forth the Reasons why he dissolved the two last Parliaments. He said, that the House of Commons, actuated by a Spirit of Cabal and Sedition, only sapping the Foundations of Monarchy, and to invest themselves with arbitrary Power, by all their Proceedings; which he largely set forth. He said he would use his utmost Endeavours to extirpate Popery, both in and out of Parliament.

Several Libels now appeared, as well against the Dissolution of the Parliament as against the Declaration; and the King's Party poured in Addresses, approving of the Dissolution of the Parliament.

The King delayed not long his Vengeance upon some of those who had been against him. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was sent to the Tower. He sent also some Persons of inferior Rank to the Tower, as *Rouse*, *Haynes*, *White*, and one *Colledge*, a Joiner of *London*. The Word *Protestant* was applied with Ridicule to all those that were against the King and the Papists.

It is said by the Court Party, that the She-

1871. Sheriffs of *London* had chose Grand Juries entirely at their Devotion, who were to return *Ignoramus* upon all Bills brought against their Party.

Be this as it will, the Court began their Revenge upon *Colledge*, the Joiner; but the Grand Jury, not finding the Bill supported with sufficient Proof, threw it out.

This made the Court, on pretence that he had spoke certain Words at *Oxford*, order him to be sent there to be tried; and the Court sent their Council before-hand, who, shutting themselves up with the Grand Jury, suffered them not to stir till they had assured them they would find the Bill. This done, he was condemned, and executed as a Traitor, tho' he declared his Innocence to the last. The Passion of the Court against this Man broke out with such Evidence, that he was considered as the first Martyr for the Protestant Cause.

Dr *Oates* was, by Order of Council, turned out of *Whitehall*, and prohibited to come within the Verge of the Council-Chamber. Indeed he was now no longer wanted, at a Time when not only the Popish Plot in general was ridiculed, but a Design was formed of taking Revenge upon all who had been most zealous to support a Belief of it, and of asserting the new Protestant Plot.

The new Sheriffs for *London* were chosen, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, both Whigs; which was very disagreeable to the Court: but they

they had the Satisfaction to see Sir *John Moor*, 1681.
an Addresser, chosen Lord Mayor.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Trial was ordered; and the King granted a special Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to all the Judges of the Kingdom, to sit with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the *Old Baily*. Eight Witnesses were examined against him; but the Grand Jury observing considerable Improbabilities in the Depositions of the Witnesses, return'd the Bill *Ignoramus*.

The whole City testified their Joy for the Delivery of the Earl, by Bonfires in all the Streets; and the Witnesses against him were in great Danger of being torn in Pieces by the Mob.

The Duke of *York*, in quality of Lord High Commissioner, had opened the Parliament in *Scotland* the 28th of *July*. This Parliament, very different from the two last held in *England*, took a quite contrary Course, and passed sundry such Acts as the King desired.

By an Act they acknowledged, that the Crown of *Scotland* had, by inherent Right, and the unalterable Laws of the Kingdom, always devolved upon the next in Blood by Lineal Succession; and that no Difference in Religion, no Law, no Act of Parliament, could alter or divert the Right of Succession, and Lineal Descent of the Crown, to the nearest and lawful Heirs. This Act made it High Treason, either by Word or Writing,

1682. to endeavour to suspend, alter, or divert the Right of Succession.

The next Thing done in *Scotland*, was an Act to impose a Test and Oath, to be taken by all Officers in Church and State. And this Oath was drawn up in such a Manner, that it imposed a Necessity of either swearing against Conscience, or of being in a manner cut off from the Society of Men; wherefore it was refused by the Majority of the Ministers, and a great Number of the Laity: But this was what the Contrivers of the Oath wanted, in order to have the Opportunity to persecute and destroy those who, it was foreseen, would obstruct the Designs of the Court.

Scotland was almost reduced to Slavery, with regard to the Government: Nothing more was wanting to finish its Ruin, but the Introduction of the Popish Religion.

Archibald Campbell, Earl of *Argyll*, Son of him who was beheaded at *Edinburgh*, was one of the Refusers of this Oath; for which he was tried, and condemned to lose his Head: but he made his Escape out of *Edinburgh* Castle, and withdrew to *Holland*.

The King now ordered, that the Nonconformists should be prosecuted with all Rigour: For, since the Dissolution of the last Parliament, in order to bring it the better about, all the Magistrates, Judges, Justices of the Peace, Governors, and Lord-Lieutenants, had been changed, and the most violent Tories put in their Places. The

Clergy

Clergy alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſignally, 1682.
by their Devotion to the Principles and Maxims of the Court. The Pulpits every where reſounded with the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance. The Clergy ſeemed to make it their Buſineſs, to ſurrender up to the King all the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. This Doctrine was ſupported, in the Courts of Juſtice, by all the Judges and Lawyers, to the utmoſt of their Power. Thus the Furious Tories puſhed their Zeal ſtill further, by making the King an arbitrary and abſolute Monarch, as if no other Expedient could ſave the Church of *England* from the Attempts of the Preſbyterians.

The Duke of *York* came to *England*, and was kindly received by the King. At the ſame Time came a Letter to the King, ſigned by ſeven *Scots* Biſhops, full of the Duke of *York*'s Praiſes, and of the Happineſs which the Church of *Scotland* enjoy'd under his Adminiſtration; yet, at the ſame Time, the Duke was the moſt zealous Bigot to the Popiſh Religion.

After two Months Stay, the Duke returned back by Sea, and the Ship run upon a Sand Bank; upon which he went into the Boat, and took with him only ſome Prieſts and Jeſuits, tho' ſeveral Perſons of Quality were on board, who were unfortunately drowned, with 130 Seamen, the Ship ſinking ſoon after the Duke put off. *Burnet* ſays,

1682. says, the Boat would have carried 80 more than she did.

The Duke returned a few Days after to *England*; where he continued the rest of this Reign, with great Influence upon the Affairs of the Court and Councils of the King, his Brother.

The Animosity against the Whigs was carried to that Excess, that even in the Administration of Justice, the Judges forgot common Decency. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* having brought an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* against one Mr *Cradock*, the Defendant's Council alledged, that there was no Probability of a fair Trial by a *London* Jury, by reason the Earl was of the Skinners' Company, of which Sheriff *Pilkington* was Master; so the Jury ought to be taken from some other Place. Upon which the Court of King's Bench ordered the Cause to be tried by a Country Jury. This was a Case unparallel'd; but Party Rage even appeared in private Affairs.

Tho' the Whig Party was kept under in all other Parts of *England*; yet they preserved their Superiority in *London*, till, by the Contrivance of the Court, *Moor*, the Lord Mayor, who had been one of the Abhorrers, and in the Court Interest, started great Difficulties upon the Election of Sheriffs; and being supported by the Privy Council, got the Sheriffs and Mayor elected of the King's Party.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* seeing the Storm grow-

growing violent, ſince he could not have the Succour of the City, retired to *Holland*, where he died ſoon after his Arrival. 1683.

The Court having got the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* at their Devotion, reſumed the Charter of *London*, and afterwards of all other Corporations in the Kingdom; yet this was not executed till the next Year.

The Laws were now executed againſt the Preſbyterians with great Severity. The Duke of *York* laying hold of this Opportunity, brought an Action againſt the late Sheriff *Pilkington* for theſe Words, *The Duke of* York *has fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats*. The Jury found 100,000*l.* Damages for the Duke. To ſuch Height was Party Rage carried.

The King raiſed the Duke of *Ormond*, an *Iriſh* Duke, to the ſame Dignity in *England*. The Earl of *Sunderland* was reſtored to the Office of Secretary, upon the Reſignation of the Earl of *Conway*.

The Court now put in execution the reſuming all Charters and Grants to Corporations; and to grant new ones drawn up in ſuch Forms, that it was in a Manner left to the King to name Repreſentatives. It may be affirmed, that this was the readieſt Way to invade, at once, the Liberties of the Nation.

The King iſſued a Commiſſion for the Trial of the Rioters at the Election of Sheriffs the laſt Year. This, in the Commiſſion, was called, *A riotous and unlawful*

Aſ-

1683. *Aſſembly*. Fourteen Aldermen, the Leaders of the Whigs, were all tried, and condemned in great Fines.

The King brought a *Quo Warranto* againſt the City of *London*, to give an Account how it became a Corporation, and by what Warrant it enjoy'd its Privileges. On ſuch Occaſions, the Corporation againſt whom the *Quo Warranto* is ſent, produces the Charter of its Privileges; and the Queſtion is to know, whether it has exactly obeyed the Conditions and Articles of its Charter? If it has been deficient in any eſſential Article, the Court before whom the Affair is brought, may declare the Charter forfeited, by Default and Neglect of Obſervance.

This is ſeldom practiſed, becauſe Corporations are careful not to offend in any eſſential Part: But the King wanted a Pretence, from ſome Violation of the Charter, to ſeize the Liberties of that great City into his Hands; and this was a favourable Opportunity, ſince he had filled the Courts of Juſtice with Men devoted to him: and to theſe Men was committed the Deciſion of this Affair.

The King alledged two Violations of the Charter. The firſt was, the illegal Exaction of Tolls in the Market, and particularly raiſing Money to rebuild *Cheapſide* Conduit. The ſecond was, the framing and printing a ſcandalous Petition; wherein they charged the King with obſtructing the Juſtice of the Nation, by proroguing the laſt *Weſtminſter* Par-

Parliament. This was argued solemnly on both Sides; and, at last, the Judges of the King's Bench declared, that the Liberties and Franchises of the City of *London* were forfeited, and might be seized into the King's Hands. Nevertheless, it was declared, by the express Command of the King, that Judgment should not be entered, until his Majesty's Pleasure should be further known. 1683.

The Common Council assembled, and a Consultation was held upon the Affair; at last they agreed to submit to his Majesty, who restored the Charter upon the following Regulations:

That no Lord Mayor, or other Officer, should be admitted to exercise their respective Offices, before his Majesty should have approved them under his Sign Manual; and if he should disapprove, upon a second Choice, he might have Power to nominate himself; and the same with regard to Sheriffs.

That the Lord Mayor, with the Leave of his Majesty, might displace any Alderman, Recorder, *&c.*

The Justices of the Peace were to be by the King's Commission; and the settling of these Matters to be left to his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, and Council learned in the Law.

By these Articles the King, 'tis evident, was absolute Master of the City; and, by thus restoring its Charter, he effectually deprived it of its chief Privilege.

Now

1683. Now came on the Examination of the *Rye-House-Plot*, so named from the Place; where, 'tis pretended, the Conspirators had projected to kill the King and Duke. *Josias Keeling*, and *John Keeling*, his Brother, were the two Witnesses that were to depose; and the Depositions contained, that the Conspirators designed to secure the King's Guards; but how this was to be executed, is not clear: then to block up or besiege *White-hall*, and seize the Persons of the King and Duke of *York*: that they were to assassinate the King and the Duke in a hollow Way near the *Rye-House*, in their Return from *New-market*: then to cause a Rising in *London*, and other Places of the Kingdom.

The Lord *Russel* was tried as one of the Conspirators; and, during his Trial, the Earl of *Essex*, who was Prisoner in the Tower as another Conspirator, was found dead in his Chamber, with his Throat cut from Ear to Ear with a Razor. This News was immediately brought to the *Old Baily*, and communicated to the Judges and Council; who, from thence, took occasion to insinuate to the Jury the Reality of the Plot, since the Earl of *Essex* rather chose to lay violent Hands on himself, than to stand a Trial. The Jury, however, brought *Russel* in guilty of High Treason, and he was beheaded.

Tho' the Coroner's Inquest found the Earl *Felo de se*, this was not capable to remove the Suspicion entertained by most People, that the Fact was committed by the Orders

of

of the King and the Duke, who were in the Tower that very Morning, tho' they had not been there for 12 Years before. It was, besides, urged, that it was not possible for a Man to cut his own Throat from Ear to Ear: That before the Coroner came to inspect the Body, Care was taken to strip it naked, and to wash the Room: That the Coroner demanding to see the Cloaths, was answered, it was his Business to examine the dead Body, and not the Cloaths. 1683.

Three more, *Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rouse*, were condemned and executed.

The Lord *Russel* was celebrated for his Virtues, allied to the greatest Families in the Kingdom, and a general Application of great Men was made for his Life, besides 100,000 *l.* yet all would not prevail with the King.

The Lord *Russel*, who had been one of the most zealous Sticklers against the Duke of *York*, had joined the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Essex*, and carried up the Exclusion Bill to the House of Lords. These were Crimes not to be forgotten by the King and his Brother.

Colonel *Sidney* was next tried, and the Court left little for the King's Council to say; for it furnished the Jury with Reasons to condemn the Prisoner, and he was also beheaded.

The Marriage of the Princess *Ann*, second Daughter to the Duke of *York*, with Prince *George*, Brother to the Duke of *Denmark*, celebrated the 28th of *July*, gave

1683. ſome, but no long Interruption, to the Proſecution of the Conſpirators.

Tho' the City of *London* had complied with every thing deſired by the King, in relation to their Charter; yet he repented the Favour he had ſhewn them, and ordered the Judgment given upon the *Quo Warranto* to be entered; after which he appointed the Sheriffs, Mayor, and Recorder himſelf. Thus the City ſaw itſelf without Charter or Privileges, and entirely depending upon the King's Will.

The King had iſſued out a Proclamation to have all the Conſpirators againſt his Life apprehended; in which Number was his natural Son the Duke of *Monmouth*, who writ to the King, and aſked his Pardon for all that was paſt; as alſo the Duke of *York*'s, and preſſed much to be received into Favour.

The King, who loved the Duke of *Monmouth* very well, was pleaſed with this Submiſſion; and he was introduced to the King and Duke of *York*, and, upon his Submiſſion, was pardoned.

But upon a Repreſentation afterwards, of a Report that the Duke of *Monmouth* had made no Confeſſion, but had aſſerted the Innocency of ſome that had ſuffered, the King required him to write over, and ſubſcribe a Letter, importing in general Terms the contrary: But the Duke afterwards repenting the ſigning this Letter, leſt it ſhould, at ſome Time, be prejudicial to him, importuned

portuned the King to have it reſtored, which 1683.
was done ; but from that Moment the King baniſhed him from his Preſence and Court ; and he withdrew into *Holland*, and was received there by the Prince of *Orange* with great Reſpect and Civility.

Notwithſtanding, the King writ frequently to the Duke of *Monmouth*, received Letters from him, unknown to the Duke of *York*, and ſecretly made him Remittances of Money.

In this Winter was a great Froſt, from the Beginning of *December* till the 5th of *February*. The *Thames* was ſo frozen, that another City, as it were, was erected upon it, by the great Number of Shops of all ſorts opened upon the Ice, and the actual holding of a Fair. An Ox was roaſted whole, Bulls baited, *&c.*

The King commiſſioned the Lord *Dartmouth*, who went with about 20 Sail of Ships, and utterly demoliſhed the Town, Caſtle, and Mole of *Tangier*. This freed the King from a conſiderable annual Expence to preſerve the Place, and the Garriſon was brought back to *England*, moſtly conſiſting of Popiſh Officers and Soldiers, who ſerved to augment the King's Troops, and to keep in awe thoſe who were impatient under his Yoke.

The King advanced Sir *George Jefferies* to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench. He was a Man fit for the Purpoſes of the Court, without Honour or Conſcience,

im-

1684. impudent to the last Degree, and always ready to betray his Duty, and the Interests of Justice and the Kingdom, to recommend himself to those who were in Power. These great Qualities advanced him, at last, to the Chancellorship of *England*.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the Trials and Sentences given against those who were accused of the last Plot.

The Court Party was now become absolute, and Books were writ upon this Subject, to shew the Passion, the Partiality, and the crying Injustices of Judges and Juries in favour of the Court.

The Earl of *Danby*, who had been sent to the Tower by the House of Lords, upon an Impeachment of the Commons, was released by the Judges, upon giving Bail. The Maxims and Principles of the Courts of Justice being now quite altered, the other Popish Lords in the Tower were also admitted to Bail, tho' no Precedent can be found to give an inferior Court a Power to release Men imprisoned by the supreme Court of the Nation.

Mr *Hampden* was tried for a high Misdemeanor before *Jefferies*, and fined 40,000 *l.* and obliged to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life, tho' the Rigour of this Sentence was thought strange.

John Dalton Colt, Esq; a Member of the three last Parliaments, upon an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* brought against him by the Duke of *York*, had 100,000 *l.*

Da-

Damages brought in againſt him for ſpeaking theſe Words, *The Duke of* York *is a Papiſt; and before any ſuch Papiſt Dog ſhall be Succeſſor to the Crown of* England, *I will be hanged at my own Door.* 1684.

The ſame Action was brought againſt *Titus Oates*, for calling the Duke a Traitor, and the ſame Damages given.

Theſe three, and ſome others omitted for Brevity's ſake, eſcaped with Life, tho' properly ſentenced to perpetual Impriſonment, as not being able to pay their exorbitant Fines.

Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* and *James Holloway*, who fled beyond Seas, were apprehended and brought to *London*. They had ſuffered an Outlawry for High Treaſon to paſs in their Abſence; ſo were both executed, without being admitted to Trial.

To enumerate the Number of Trials and Proſecutions carried on this Year by the Court Party, would be too tedious; what has been ſaid may ſuffice to ſhew the Diſpoſition of the King and Duke.

The whole Kingdom being ſtruck with Terror, *Jefferies*, in his Northern Circuit, managed Matters ſo, by Threats, as to occaſion all the Corporations to ſurrender their Charters into the King's Hands, and to receive ſuch new ones as he ſhould think fit to grant.

To make the People, in ſome Meaſure, ſenſible of their new Slavery, the King affected to muſter his Forces, and had 4000 Men

1684. Men well armed and diſciplined, ready on any Occaſion.

The King had expreſſed himſelf one Day, that if he lived a Month longer, he would find a Way to make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his Life; but he died ſoon after. The Cauſe of his Death is differently reported, ſome thinking it natural, others violent.

A few Years before the King's Death, after the Fatigue of riding, he took his Glaſs, being then at *Windſor*, more liberally than uſual; and retiring into the next Room, he wrapped himſelf up in his Cloak, and fell aſleep upon a Couch. He was but a little Time come back to his Company, when a Servant, belonging to one of them, lay down upon the Couch in the King's Cloak, and was found ſtabbed dead with a Poniard; nor was it ever known how it happened.

It is ſaid the King intended to ſend for the Duke of *Monmouth*, to ſend the Duke of *York* into *Scotland*, and to call a free Parliament. And it being ſuſpected, that this was the King's Intentions, by ſome Expreſſions of his, made it imagined, that he had been poiſoned by the Directions of ſome Papiſts, to avoid the Conſequences that might happen to the Papiſts, if the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould be brought into Favour.

When the Phyſicians opened the Body, the Suſpicions of Poiſon were very violent; and ſeveral other Circumſtances appeared to occaſion ſuch a Belief. Some Perſons, who

had

had declared their Sentiments to be, that the King had been poisoned. having themselves died suddenly, were also suspected to have been poisoned. 1684.

However it be, thus much is certain, that there is no explicit Proof that the King was poisoned; or, if there was, the Authors of his Death remain hitherto concealed. He was 54 Years of Age when he died.

King *Charles* II. by his several Mistresses, had the following Children.

1. By Mrs *Lucy Walters*, *James* Duke of *Monmouth*.

2. By Mrs *Elizabeth Killigrew*, *Charlotte-Jemia-Henrietta-Maria-Fitz-roy*.

3. By Mrs *Catharine Peg*, *Charles Fitz-roy*, Earl of *Plymouth*.

4. By Mrs *Barbara Villers*, created Lady *Nonsuch*, Countess of *Southampton*, and Dutchess of *Cleveland*, he had three Sons and three Daughters. 1. *Charles Fitz-roy*, created Duke of *Southampton*, and, after his Mother's Death, Duke of *Cleveland*. 2. *Henry Fitz-roy*, Duke of *Grafton*. 3. *George Fitz-roy*, Duke of *Northumberland*. 4. *Ann Fitz-roy*, married to the Earl of *Sussex*. 5. *Charlotte Fitz-roy*, married to the Earl of *Litchfield*. 6. *Barbara*, who became a Nun at *Pontoise* in *France*.

5. By Mrs *Eleanor Gwin*, *Charles Beauclerk*, Duke of St *Alban*'s, and *James Beauclerk*.

6. By *Louise de Queronaille*, Dutchess of *Ports-*

1684. *Portsmouth*, *Charles Lenox*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*.

7. By Mrs *Mary Davis*, *Mary Tudor*, married to *Francis* Lord *Ratcliff*, Earl of *Darwentwater*.

The Origin and Distinction of the two Parties of Whigs *and* Tories.

THE Origin of the two Factions, of Whig and Tory, as to the Appellation, is this; in the Reign of *Charles* II. there was a sort of *Irish* Banditti, or Robbers, who kept in the Mountains and Isles formed by the vast Bogs in *Ireland*, who went by the Name of *Tories*; and as the King's Enemies accused him of favouring the *Irish* Rebellion, then on foot, they gave his Adherents the Name of *Tories*.

These, on the other Hand, to return the Reproach upon their Enemies, who had leagued themselves with the *Scots*, called them *Whigs*; a Name bestowed in *Scotland* upon the like Banditti, or Robbers, of that Nation.

These Parties of Whig and Tory have several Divisions, so shall first speak of the Political or State Tories, which are divided into two Branches; to one of which may be given the Name of *Furious*, in *England* they are known by that of *The High-fliers*. These Men

Men are for having the Sovereign as abſolute in *England* as he is in *France*. Theſe Men, who would be very unwilling to put themſelves under the Conduct of others, finding themſelves in Poſts advantageous, uſed commonly to be the Leaders and Directors of all the Tory Party. It is this which gives occaſion for the general Accuſation, that they are Favourers of deſpotick Power; whereas 'tis certain, that only the Furious Tories are chargeable with this Principle.

Theſe Furious Tories, when they are in the Miniſtry, engage the Church Tories to maintain the Doctrine of paſſive Obedience; which goes a great Way towards bringing the People into their Party: they inſinuate to the Epiſcopal Miniſters, that they have only in view the Ruin of the Preſbyterians; and under colour of this, they engage them in the preaching up of a Doctrine which, in its Conſequences, extends to all the Subjects. This was experienced in the Reigns of *Charles* II. *James* II. and of Queen *Ann*, towards the Concluſion.

The ſecond Branch, of the Political or State Tories, is compoſed of thoſe I call *Moderate*; theſe are for having the King enjoy every Prerogative which belongs to him: but they are not, with the High-fliers, for complimenting him with the Privileges of the Subject. They are true *Engliſhmen*, who have the Welfare of their Country at Heart. To them the State has often owed

its Preſervation; and to them it muſt have Recourſe whenever 'tis attacked by the Furious Tory, or the Republican Whig.

The State Whigs may likewiſe be diſtinguiſhed into *Republican* and *Moderate Whigs.* The Republican Whigs are the Remains of that Party, of the Long Parliament, which undertook the turning the Government into a Commonwealth. The Tories would perſuade the Publick, that all Whigs are of this kind; and in like Manner the Whigs wonld have it believed, that all Tories are in the Principles of Deſpotiſm: but this is only an Artifice to render one another mutually odious.

Under the ſecond Branch are comprehended the Moderate Whigs (Men nearly allied to the Moderate Tories in Principle, and conſequently to be eſteemed true *Engliſhmen*) who deſire the Preſervation of the Government upon its antient Foundation; but are careful that the Sovereign go not beyond the Bounds of his juſt Authority.

The Moderate Whig and Tory are ſo nearly allied, that their Views are equal; and we ſee that the Union of theſe two Branches, upon the Death of King *William*, continues to this Day under the common Appellation of *Whig*.

There is ſtill a further Diſtinction to be made between State Tories and Whigs; and Church Whigs and Tories.

It is preſumed, that the Reader is acquainted that the Church of *England*, when ſhe

ſhe received the Reformation, admitted only ſome Alterations in her Doctrine; but preſerved the Hierarchy, with all the Ceremonies in which ſhe ſaw nothing ſuperſtitious. The Reformation was not fully compleated till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; it was in her Time that divers Conſtitutions of the Convocation, inforced by Acts of Parliament, ſettled the publick Worſhip as it ſtands to this Day: nevertheleſs a great many *Engliſh*, who had fled from the Rage of Queen *Mary*, returning from *France*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, and other Parts of *Germany*, brought along with them the Prejudices which they had imbibed in favour of the Reformation as eſtabliſhed in thoſe Countries. Theſe Men could not comply with the Reformation at home; as, in their Opinion, not carried far enough from the Church of *Rome*.

For this Reaſon they made an entire Separation, and held Aſſemblies in their own Way; which immediately had the Name of *Conventicles*.

Theſe were called *Preſbyterians*, becauſe, refuſing their Submiſſion to the Biſhops, they maintained, that all Prieſts, or Miniſters, had an equal Authority in the Church; which ought to be governed by Preſbyteries, or Conſiſtories compoſed of Miniſters and Lay-Elders.

The Members of the Epiſcopal Way were very much diſpleaſed with Men who thus took upon them to reform what, after ma-

ture

ture Deliberation, national Synods had decreed, and Parliament confirmed.

Some of the Preſbyterians teſtified a Readineſs to relax ſomething of their antient Stiffneſs in point of Principle; and many Epiſcopalians were of Opinion, that, for the Sake of Peace, ſome Condeſcenſion ought to be uſed to the Preſbyterians. Theſe, therefore, were the Men, of both the one and the other Party, who, keeping to this Moderation, formed the two Branches of the moderate Whigs and Tories with reſpect to Religion; but ſtill the greater Number, in both Factions, remain immovable in their Principles with unaccountable Obſtinacy: and this gave riſe to the two Branches of the rigid Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians, which ſubſiſt to this Day. And the Diſtinction of Whigs and Tories comprehend both, becauſe the rigid Epiſcopalians join with the Tories; and the rigid Preſbyterians with the Whigs. There is another Diſtinction; for the rigid Preſbyterians are termed the *Republican Whigs*, who want to have the regal Power aboliſhed, and to eſtabliſh a Republican Government, as in *Oliver Cromwell*'s Days. There are alſo the Furious Tories in direct Oppoſition, who want to introduce an arbitrary Power; among whom are all Papiſts, watching an Opportunity to eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion.

1757

27. *JAMES* II.

WITHIN a few Hours after *Charles* II. had breathed his last, his Brother, the Duke of *York*, was proclaimed King in *London*; the Party against the Exclusion Bill being now triumphant, no Opposition was made. As soon as the Lords were returned to *Whitehall*, from proclaiming the King, he assembled the Privy Council, and made a Speech to the Purport following:

"That he would act with great Clemen-"cy and Tenderness to his People; and en-"deavour to preserve the Government both "in Church and State, as it is now establish-"ed by Law: That he would never depart "from the just Rights and Prerogatives of "the Crown; nor ever invade any Man's "Property: That as he had ventured his "Life in the Defence of the Nation; he "would still go as far as any Man, in pre-"serving it in all its just Rights and Li-"berties."

The King issued a Proclamation, that all Persons were to continue the Places they were in at the late King's Death, till his Pleasure was further known.

Most of the Historians represent it as a sur-

prizing

1684. prizing Thing, that the King should go publickly to Mass two Days after his Accession to the Crown; but I can't see where the Wonder was, since all knew he was a Papist, and made no Secret of it while Duke of *York*.

But what gave more just Cause of Surprize was, his requiring by Proclamation, the same Week, that the Customs and other Duties, which had been granted to his Brother only for Life, should continue to be collected. This was a manifest Invasion of the Nation's Rights and Liberties. This made the People soon suspect, that the King's Promises were not to be relied on.

Another Step the King made at the same time, and as it seems without any Necessity, was to publish, and cause Father *Huddleston*, a Priest, to attest, that *Charles* II. died a Catholick; and that the same Priest gave him the Eucharist and extream Unction.

To confirm that *Charles* II. was really a Papist, Mr *William Chaffinch*, Keeper of the King's Closet, made no Scruple to shew a little Chapel, annexed to the Closet, where the King went secretly to Mass. It is hard to conceive what Advantage it could be to King *James* to divulge such a Secret, which must be an Injury to the late King's Reputation; since he affirmed, in full Parliament, that he was a good Protestant.

The Funeral of *Charles* II. was solemnized at Night without any great Pomp; tho'

Charles

Charles had left his Brother 90,000 Guineas in a Box. 1685.

The King ordered the Privy Counſellors and Great Officers of the Crown and Houſehold to be ſworn; and filled the vacant Places. The Office of Lord-Treaſurer was conferred on the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the King's Brother-in-law; the Earl of *Clarendon*, elder Brother to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, was made Lord-Privy-Seal; and the Marquis of *Halifax* Preſident of the Council.

Addreſſes came from all Parts to congratulate the King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown. Theſe Addreſſes, for the moſt Part, took Notice of the King's poſitive Declaration to the Privy Council, to maintain the Church of *England*, and the Liberties of the Nation.

The Addreſs from the Barriſters and Students of the Middle-Temple concluded with ſaying, " May there never want Millions, as " loyal as we are, to ſacrifice their Lives and " Fortunes in defence of your ſacred Perſon, " and Prerogative in its full Extent."

The Quakers Addreſs contained, " We " are told, thou art not of the Perſuaſion of the " Church of *England* no more than we; there" fore we hope, that thou wilt grant us the " ſame Liberty which thou alloweſt thyſelf."

The King and Queen's Coronation was celebrated on the 23d of *April*. He retrenched ſeveral Things which cauſed a needleſs Expence; as for Inſtance, the Cavalcade from the Tower to *Weſtminſter*, which

was

1685. was won't to be performed the Day before the Coronation, ſaving thereby a Charge of 60,000 *l*.

The Crown being too little for the King's Head, was often in a tottering Condition, and like to fall off. The ſame Day the King's Arms, painted in a Glaſs Window of one of the Churches in *London*, ſuddenly fell down and broke to Pieces, while the reſt of the Window remained ſtanding. Theſe were reckoned ill Omens to the King.

The ſame Day that the King was crowned, the Parliament of *Scotland* met at *Edinburgh*, *William Douglas*, Duke of *Queenſbury*, being Lord-High-Commiſſioner. In his Letter to the Parliament, he recommended to them, as well the ſecuring their own Privileges and Properties, as the aggrandizing his own Power; which, however, he was reſolved to maintain in its greateſt Luſtre, that he might be the better enabled to defend their Religion, Rights, and Properties, againſt Fanatical Contrivances (the rigid Preſbyterians were called Fanaticks by the Court).

The Parliament, after a ſubmiſſive Anſwer to the King, promiſing to do whatever he had deſired, made an Act, ratifying all Statutes, paſſed in the late Reign, for the Security of Religion, as at preſent profeſſed, within the Kingdom; and by another Act, they annexed the Exciſe of foreign and inland Commodities to the Crown of *Scotland* for ever.

Oates, *Dangerfield*, and *Baxter*, were tried before *Jefferies* at the King's Bench; the first for Perjury, the second for publishing a scandalous Libel, the third for publishing a Book intitled, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament*. The Judge shew'd so much Partiality, that 'twas plain Revenge was the principal Motive of these Prosecutions. The Jury was pick'd for their Purpose; and the Sentences were severe and cruel. 1685.

Oates was fined 1000 Merks, stript of all his Canonical Habits, to stand in the Pillory before *Westminster-hall* Gate, and at the *Royal Exchange*; afterwards to be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and two Days after, from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; and yearly to stand in the Pillory, at *Tyburn*, opposite to the Gallows at *Westminster-hall* Gate, at *Charing-Cross*, over against *Temple-gate*, and at the *Royal-Exchange*, upon different Days; and to be committed to close Prison while he lived. *Jefferies* added, that if it had been in his Power, he should have been condemned to die. The Sentences, much the same, were executed against them all with the greatest Severity. It was looked upon as miraculous that *Oates* survived the Punishment; being twice whipt in three Days very cruelly, and swooned away several Times.

The Parliament being met, and Sir *John Trevor* being chosen Speaker, by the Recommendation of one of the Secretaries of

1685. State, the King made a Speech: He promised to preserve the Government, both in Church and State, as it was by Law established; and added, that as he would never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so he never would invade any Man's Property: That the Way to engage him to meet them often, was always to use him well; and he demanded to have the Revenues which the King his Brother had, settled upon him during Life.

He acquainted them, that the Earl of *Argyll* was landed in *Scotland*, with some Men from *Holland*; and that he had published two Declarations, one in his own Name, the other in the Name of all those in Arms; wherein the King was charged with Usurpation and Tyranny.

Tho' the King promised to preserve the Government both in Church and State, nothing was further from his Thoughts; as appeared afterwards: But this was a Decoy, made use of to engage the Parliament to enable him to go on without them, which accordingly happened; for this Parliament, which had but two short Sessions, was the only one the King called throughout his whole Reign.

Both Houses, pleased with the King's Speech, waited on him the same Day with an Address of Thanks; and the King answered, he would be as good as his Word; and was much pleased with their Thanks.

This Confirmation made the Parliament im-

immediately vote to the King the fame Revenues his Brother had. This Revenue, including the 150,000 *l.* enjoyed by the King while Duke of *York*, and which was annexed to the Crown, amounted to 2,550,000 *l.* This Liberality was not founded upon the Services the King, when Duke of *York*, had done the Nation; but folely upon his Promifes to fupport the Government, both in Church and State, as by Law eftablifhed. 1685.

The Lords, to fhew their Affection to the King, difcharged the Popifh Lords, and the Earl of *Danby*; who had been Prifoners in the Tower for the Plot, and let out upon Bail, upon the King's fending a Warrant to the Attorney-General to enter a *Noli-profequi* upon the Indictments.

Thefe Proceedings in favour of the Popifh Lords made way for the bringing in a Bill, to reverfe the Attainder of the Lord Vifcount *Stafford* in the Year 1680, which paffed the Houfe.

The Earls of *Anglefea* and *Randoz*, and fome others, were againft the Bill, and entered their Diffents. However, when it was fent down to the Commons, it was dropt there, and never heard of more. Their Intention was not to encourage the Popifh Party.

The Parliament of *Scotland* continued extreamly zealous for the King's Intereft, and granted him, during Life, the yearly Sum of 200,000 *l.*

The Earl of *Argyll*, who was landed in *Scot-*

1685. *Scotland*, had perſuaded the Duke of *Monmouth* to invade *England* at the ſame Time.

The Revenue Bill being paſſed, and the King having given his Aſſent to the Bill, his Majeſty made a Speech; wherein he ſet forth his Thanks for the Bill, and told the Commons, that as there was a Rebellion in *Scotland*, he would have occaſion for a further Aid on that Occaſion; as alſo to put the Navy into ſuch a Condition, as might make him conſidered and reſpected Abroad; but ſaid not one Word about his Promiſe.

The Commons had Reaſon now to perceive their Error, in not adding a Clauſe to keep the King to his Promiſe. Notwithſtanding this, they granted the King an additional Duty of Exciſe upon Wines and Vinegar, and a farther Impoſition upon Sugar and Tobacco.

The Earl of *Argyll* was doing all he could to ſtrengthen himſelf in *Scotland*; but, tho' he was in his own Country of *Argyll*, and the Inhabitants had been formerly his Vaſſals, all he could do, was, to draw together 3000 Men.

The Earl having Notice, that a great Number of Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Gordon*, the Marquis of *Athol*, the Earl of *Arran*, and others, were advancing towards him, he made uſe of the three Ships he brought with him, and ſome Boats, and got into the Iſle of *Bute*, and was forced to ſhift from Iſland to Iſland, to avoid them. At laſt he ordered the old Caſtle of *Ellen-*

grog

grog to be fortified; and leaving his Cannon there, with a Garrison of 180 Men, he marched into *Dumbartonshire*. The same Day he began his March, the King's Ships came up to the Castle, with an Intent to batter it; but the Castle surrendered upon the firing of the first Gun, by which the Earl lost 5000 Arms, 500 Barrels of Powder, and all his Cannon, besides his three Ships. 1685.

This made the Earl and his Officers endeavour their Escape. They retired from Place to Place, even to the swimming of Rivers. They were closely pursued, which made them disperse. At last, the Earl, receiving a Wound in his Head, was obliged to quit his Horse, and run into the Water up to the Neck, to save himself. In this Posture he was taken by a Country Man, who threaten'd to knock him down if he would not surrender.

The Earl presented a Pistol at the Man, but missing Fire, he knock'd him down. He was carried to *Edinburgh* in an ignominious Manner, and his Head cut off and placed on the Tolbooth of the City.

Several others were taken and executed: The Earl complained much of the Duke of *Monmouth*, for delaying his coming so long. Thus the King, without contributing much to it, saw himself delivered from Danger.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, pursuant to his Promise, sailed out of the *Texel* with a small Man of War of 30 Guns, and two other Vessels; but was kept at Sea 19 Days by con-

1685. contrary Winds: At laſt he landed at *Lyme*, in the Weſt of *England*, with about 80 Followers, and the ſame Day he came into the Town; where he was received without Oppoſition. Here he publiſhed a Declaration againſt the King: He accuſed him of poiſoning the late King his Brother, and of aiming at arbitrary Power: He declared, that his Mother was lawful Wife of King *Charles* II. by which he was legally intitled to the Throne.

Soon after the two Houſes paſſed a Bill of Attainder againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, and addreſſed his Majeſty, aſſuring him of their Zeal and Aſſiſtance.

The King ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, That he judged it neceſſary they ſhould be in their reſpective Counties, and deſired a Supply on the preſent Occaſion. They forthwith voted 400,000 *l.*

The Parliament was adjourned, having paſſed in ſix Weeks what no other ever did in many Months, ſixteen Bills, moſt of them for the King's Benefit, beſides private Bills.

The Duke of *Monmouth* marched to *Taunton*, and finding his Army increaſe, he call'd a Council; wherein it was reſolved he ſhould aſſume the Title of King, and was proclaimed at *Taunton* the 20th of *June*, by the Name of *James* II.

After this he iſſued Proclamations, promiſing 5000 *l.* to any that would bring the Duke of *York*, dead or alive; and de-

clared

clared the Parliament now ſitting, to be a ſeditious Aſſembly; and gave Power to any that would lay hold of the Members, as Rebels and Traitors, if they did not ſeparate before the End of *June*. 1687.

The Duke marched to *Bridgewater*, and was received there, as well as at *Taunton*, with loud Acclamations: His Army was now 5000, and might have been more numerous, had he been able to arm thoſe that offered their Service. Beſides Arms, he wanted good Officers; ſcarce any but the meaneſt of the People having joined him. He marched towards *Briſtol*, and the Inhabitants were inclined to receive him, but were awed by the Duke of *Beaufort*, their Governor: He marched, therefore, towards *Bath*, and after ſummoning the City in vain to ſurrender, he went and beat up one of the King's Quarters, where lay a Troop of Horſe; which were intirely defeated. From thence he marched to *Frome*, where he met with a chearful Reception. Here he heard of the Earl of *Argyll*'s Defeat, which threw him into a great Conſternation: However, he reſolved to purſue his March, and returned back to *Bridgewater*.

This obliged the King to raiſe the Militia, particularly in the Weſtern Counties, till the Arrival of the ſix *Engliſh* and *Scots* Regiments, which were to come from *Holland*: On this Occaſion the Prince of *Orange*, the King's Son-in-law, ſent over Monſieur *Bentinck*, with an Offer of his Perſon to come

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1685. and head his Army; but his Majesty did not think proper to accept of the same.

However, as the King could not put any great Confidence in the Militia, he sent down his Guards, and all the Regular Troops he could draw together, and formed a little Army of 2000 Foot, and 700 Horse, and Dragoons. He gave the Command to the Earl of *Feversham*, who encamped at *Sedgemore*, near *Bridgewater*; whilst several Parties of the Militia of the neighbouring Counties lay about him, under the Command of the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Somerset*, *Albemarle*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*.

The Duke of *Monmouth* finding himself in effect besieged, resolved, in a Council of War, to march in the Night, and surprize the Earl of *Feversham*. He began his March about Eleven at Night, with profound Silence, and within two Hours fell in with *Dumbarton*'s Regiment: which lying in an advanced Post, gave the Alarm to the whole Army; and by that they had Time to put themselves in Order of Battle, to receive their Enemies. The Particulars of the Fight, which ensued about an Hour after, are not well known: Thus much is certain, that the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Horse, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, behaved very ill, tho' superior to the King's in Number, and fled upon the first Charge. The Duke of *Monmouth*, at the Head of the Foot, fought a considerable while with a great deal of Bravery; but being deserted by the Horse, his

Army

Army was at laſt forced to take to their Heels. The Loſs of this Battle was aſcribed to the little Experience or Cowardice of the Lord *Grey*, who commanded the Horſe, and was even ſuſpected of Treachery. What confirmed this Suſpicion was, that being taken Priſoner, he readily obtained his Majeſty's Pardon. 1685.

There were ſlain on the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Side 300 Men on the Spot, 1000 in Purſuit, and as many taken Priſoners. The Duke was obliged to quit his Horſe, and run away on Foot, being accompanied only with a *German* Count.

The Lord *Grey* was taken next Day, and the Day after the Duke of *Monmouth* was found in a Ditch, cover'd with Fern, with ſome Green Peaſe in his Pocket. He was ſent directly to *London*.

The Duke wrote to the King in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner for Pardon: He writ likewiſe to the Queen Dowager, who really interceded for him, and prevailed with his Majeſty to ſee the unfortunate Duke.

The Duke being brought to the King, he threw himſelf at his Feet, and begged his Life in a very ſubmiſſive, or rather abject Manner. The King, after aſking him ſome Queſtions, made him ſign a Declaration; whereby he owned, that the King his Father aſſured him, he was never married to his Mother. Afterwards the King told him, his Crime was of too great Conſequence to be

1685. be forgiven, and he therefore muſt prepare to die.

I do not find, in any Hiſtorian, that the Duke was proceeded againſt in the uſual Forms: So it is likely he was condemned only by the King alone.

However, the King ſent *Ken*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, to acquaint him, that he muſt die next Morning; when he was beheaded on a Scaffold. He declared he died a Proteſtant, of the Church of *England*.

The King, thus rid of his greateſt Fears, gave himſelf entirely over to the Paſſion of Revenge againſt thoſe who had aſſiſted the Duke of *Monmouth*.

To that End the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferies*, with four other Judges, Aſſiſtants, were ſent into the Weſt with a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to try thoſe that had been in the late Rebellion; and Major-General *Kirk* was ordered to attend him with a Body of Troops, to keep the People in Awe.

It was not poſſible for the King to ſend, in the whole Kingdom, two Men more deſtitute of Religion, Honour, and Humanity. They were two cruel and mercileſs Tygers, that delighted only in Blood.

At *Wincheſter*, the Widow of the Lord *Liſle* was tried for harbouring and concealing Mr *Hicks*, a Preſbyterian Miniſter of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Party. The Jury found her, Not Guilty, and were put back three Times; but *Jefferies* threatening them with an Attaint of Jury, they were forced to

bring

bring her in Guilty; and she was executed, being 70 Years old. 1685.

At *Dorchester*, *Jefferies*, to shorten his Work, told 30 Prisoners, that if they expected any Favour, they should plead Guilty; but as they did not care to take that Course, he condemned 29, who were immediately executed.

In another Place, 200 Persons being indicted, *Jefferies* positively promised a Pardon to such as should plead Guilty: They did so, yet he ordered 80 of them to be hanged.

To shorten the Matter further, *Jefferies* condemned 500 Persons; whereof 230 were executed, and their Quarters set up in the Highways.

Jefferies himself gloried in his Barbarity, and boasted that he had hanged more than all the Judges of *England* since *William* the Conqueror. He had carried his Cruelty farther, had not many purchased his Favour with their Estates.

One Mr *Prideaux* alone gave him 14,000*l.* to save his Life. Those that had not Money enough to come up to his Price, were either hanged or cruelly whipped, or sold for Slaves to the *American* Plantations. *Burnet* says, above 600 were hanged.

Kirk was not behind *Jefferies* either in Cruelty or Insolence. Immediately after *Monmouth*'s Defeat, being sent to *Taunton*, he caused 19 Persons, by his own Authority, without Trial, to be hanged. This,

1685. no Doubt, made him worthy to be an Aſſiſtant to *Jefferies*.

In this ſame Town of *Taunton*, *Kirk* having invited his Officers to Dinner, ordered 30 condemned Perſons to be hanged, within Sight of the Place where they ſat at Dinner; 10 in a Health to the King, 10 in a Health to the Queen, and 10 in a Health to *Jefferies*.

An Action of his in another Town is beyond all Imagination. A young Girl coming and throwing herſelf at his Feet, to beg her Father's Life, he drew her in to proſtitute herſelf to him, with the Promiſe of granting her Requeſt: But, having ſatisfied his brutal Luſt, he was ſo inhumane as to lead the Girl to the Window, and ſhew her her Father hanging on the Sign Poſt. This ſad Spectacle had ſuch an Effect upon the poor Girl, that ſhe fell diſtracted.

Burnet ſays, the King had an Account of *Jefferies*'s Proceedings ſent him every Day; and he took Pleaſure in relating them in his Drawing-room to Foreign Miniſters, and at his Table, calling it *Jefferies*'s Campaign. *Jefferies*, at his Return, was made Lord Chancellor, upon the Death of Lord Keeper *North*.

In *London*, *Elizabeth Gaunt* was publickly burnt for harbouring one of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Adherents. Six Men were hanged as Traitors, for Crimes of the like Nature; and, what is more ſtrange, without any previous Trial.

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Alderman *Cornish*, who had been Sheriff 1685.
of *London* when the Discovery of the Popish Plot was in hand, and had been very active on that Occasion, was hurried to *Newgate*, and tried next Day, without granting him further Time, tho' he applied for it. He was condemn'd and executed as a Traitor.

Charles Bateman, a noted Surgeon, was also condemned and executed, being accused of holding several seditious Discourses at that Time against the Government; but many People believed his chief Crime consisted in his Compassion to *Titus Oates*, having constantly attended him after his cruel Scourgings, and used all his Skill to cure his Wounds. This Man, who did not expect to be accused, run distracted during his Imprisonment; but his Condition did not prevent his being condemned and executed.

The King was then in a flourishing State; none durst so much as think of resisting him. The Whigs were entirely humbled; and the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and Non-resistance, was openly preached as an essential Article of the Faith of the Church of *England*. *Scotland* was entirely subdued; and the Managers of the Affairs of the Kingdom seemed to mind nothing but the enlarging of the Prerogative-royal. In fine, the Princes of *Europe*, considering him as a Monarch who was able to incline the Balance to which Side he pleased, made their Court to him.

One Thing the King wanted, which touched

1685. ed him more than all the reſt, and that was, to make his Subjects Papiſts; and, in order to that, he ſet himſelf above the Laws, thinking to bring it about by Force.

This Reſolution being taken, he re-called the Duke of *Ormond* from *Ireland*; who, he thought, was not a proper Inſtrument for his Purpoſe. At the ſame Time the Privy Council in *Ireland* was diſſolved, and a new one appointed, all or moſt of them Papiſts. When the Council was thus modelled, nothing was heard of in *Ireland* but Impeachments againſt the Proteſtants, for having been concerned in the Rye-Plot, and afterwards for holding Correſpondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*.

The Moment any Perſon was accuſed, he was committed to Priſon by the Council, without Bail, or being brought to Trial. Shortly after the King came to a Reſolution of having a ſtanding Army of Papiſts in *Ireland*, and of diſarming the Proteſtants, and an Order for that Purpoſe was made; upon which the City of *Dublin* delivered up their Arms; and their Example was followed by all the Country, and they were depoſited in the ſeveral Store-houſes of each County.

The Proteſtants being thus diſarmed, Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a furious Papiſt, was pitched upon, and impowered to caſhier ſuch Officers and Soldiers as he thought fit. It is obſerved, that *Titus Oates*, in his Narrative of the Popiſh Plot, had named *Talbot*, as deſigned for this very Service.

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The Parliament of *England*, after ſeveral Adjournments, met, and the King made a Speech; wherein he laid before them the Neceſſity of increaſing the Army, for a Security to prevent any ſuch like Attempts as had lately been made by the Duke of *Monmouth*. He tells them, that they are not to take Exception that there are ſome Officers in the Army not qualified, according to the late Teſts; for, to be plain with them, he will not expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor be without ſuch Men to ſerve him, in caſe there ſhould be another Rebellion. He demands a Supply to ſupport his Army, which had been increaſed from 7000 to 15,000. 1685.

The King's Speech ſurprized both Houſes and the whole Kingdom. Peoples' Eyes began now to be opened, when they beheld their Laws openly attacked in the moſt ſenſible Part. This Step of the King's made the Tories, for the future, proceed with a little more Caution.

A ſtrong Debate the Lords had, whether they ſhould give the King Thanks for his Speech? Whereupon the Marquis of *Halifax* ſaid, they had more Reaſon than ever to thank the King, ſince he had dealt ſo plainly with them, and diſcover'd what he would be at; however, it was carried by a Majority to thank the King.

The Commons were not ſo compliable, for they deferred it for a Time, to conſider of it. The Houſe conſiſted of Tory Members,

1685. bers, there being very few Whigs: But what the King was now doing by his ſole Authority, namely, the employing Popiſh Officers in the Army, was a Thing as much againſt the Tory as the Whig Intereſt; for by this the King plainly ſhewed his Intentions.

When therefore the King's Speech came to be debated, ſuch Members as were not of the ſame Principles with the Rigid and Violent Tories, ſpoke with great Freedom, ſetting forth the Inconveniencies of a ſtanding Army in the Time of Peace. They were ſuffered to talk what they pleaſed; but when the Queſtion was put for a Supply to be given the King, it was carried in the Affirmative, and a Supply granted to maintain this ſame Army.

The Supply granted was 700,000*l.* It was evident, therefore, that the keeping up an Army of 15,000 Men, was not the Thing which the Commons were moſt offended with in the King's Speech.

The employing as many Papiſts in the Army as the King pleaſed, made the Commons think it now neceſſary to ſet ſome Bounds to Paſſive Obedience, ſince they feared the King was for attacking both their Religion and Laws. This made great Debates in the Houſe; and, at laſt, they voted an Addreſs to the King, in which they repreſented, that, by an Act made in the 25th Year of the Reign of his Royal Brother, intitled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which*

may

may happen from Popiſh Recuſants, the Officers employ'd by his Majeſty could not be capable of their Employments; ſo deſired his Majeſty to give ſuch Directions therein, as might remove the Jealouſies of his People. 1685.

The King's Anſwer preſſed them to continue their Confidence in him, that he would be ſteady to all his Promiſes; but ſaid not one Word about the Popiſh Officers and Soldiers employ'd.

The Commons, however, were ſo far from going from the Principles of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, that they acted every thing to content him: For, beſides a Bill brought in to indemnify the Popiſh Officers from the Penalties they had already incurred, they reſolved to tender another to the King, to qualify ſuch a Number of thoſe Officers to ſerve in the Army as he ſhould think fit. During the Debates, Mr *Coke*, a Member, ſpeaking his Mind freely in his Speech, concluded, "He "hoped they were all true *Engliſhmen*, and "not to be frighted out of their Duty by a "few hard Words;" alluding to the King's Anſwer to their Addreſs.

Tho' this Speech was very conſiſtent with the Freedom of the Houſe of Commons; yet the Majority of the Houſe were pleaſed to look upon Mr *Coke* as an Incendiary, who intended to ſow Diſcord between the King and the Commons, and voted him to be ſent to the Tower. This far makes it

 plain,

1685. plain, the King's Party were yet ſtrongeſt in the Houſe.

Before the Money Bill was brought to a Concluſion, and the other intended Bills, the King, probably thinking the Commons would not comply with his Deſires concerning the Popiſh Officers, prorogued the Parliament, and, after ſeveral Prorogations, diſſolved them. This is to me a little obſcure, ſince the King, by this, loſt the 700,000 *l.* voted, and the Benefit of the other intended Bills. I can only ſolve it this Way, that his Majeſty has not taken the Commons to be in earneſt in what paſſed in the Houſe after his Anſwer to their Addreſs, or he thought he could proſecute his Intentions without them; however this be, it was the laſt Parliament called in this Reign.

As the two next Years were wholly ſpent in the Execution of his Majeſty's two grand Projects; namely, of making himſelf abſolute, and eſtabliſhing Popery in the Kingdom; probably his Majeſty did not think it a proper Method to proceed by the Aſſiſtance of a Parliament, but by ſetting himſelf above the Laws.

The Lord *Delamere* was tried by his Peers, for having a Correſpondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and acquitted.

The Earl of *Stamford* was admitted to Bail; and tho' nothing could be proved againſt him, he thought proper to lay hold of the Proclamation of Pardon, which was iſſued out ſhortly after.

The

The Earl of *Arlington* dying, his Place of Lord-Chamberlain was conferred on the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who became one of the chief Favourites in this Reign. The Earl of *Rocheſter* was made Lord Treaſurer; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, his elder Brother, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Lord *Sunderland*, Principal Secretary of State, was declared Lord-Preſident of the Council, and from this Time became Prime-Miniſter of State. 1686.

James now thought of making ſure of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in order to execute his grand Projects of making himſelf abſolute, and eſtabliſhing Popery in the Kingdom. As for *Scotland*, the Managers there were wholly diſpoſed to comply with his Majeſty's Will. They paſſed ſeveral Acts there in favour of his Majeſty's abſolute Power and Authority. After which his Majeſty, by his ſole Authority, eſtabliſhed Liberty of Conſcience in *Scotland*.

As to *Ireland*, the new Earl of *Tyrconnel* was ſent to *Dublin*, with the Title of *Lieutenant-General of the Army*. He broke the Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers, and put Roman Catholicks in their Places, without vouchſafing to aſk for the Lord-Lieutenant's Order. This bred a Quarrel between them; and *Tyrconnel* ſoon found Means to ſupplant the Earl of *Clarendon*, being a Proteſtant, and got himſelf appointed Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

This made a great Number of the Pro-

1686. testants chuse rather to quit their Estates in *Ireland*, and withdraw into *England*, than remain any longer under the Government of one so justly odious to them. On the other hand, the *English* Merchants who traded in *Ireland*, withdrew their Effects from thence, and by that the Kingdom was reduced to great Extremities: But all these Disadvantages were made up, by the Hopes of rooting out the Protestant Religion in that Country.

To introduce Popery and arbitrary Power in *England*, the King first caused the Judges to give it as their Opinion, that he had a Power to dispense with the Laws. Secondly, by gaining the Members of Parliament by Degrees, one after another, being resolved to have no Session till he had compassed his Designs.

Dr *Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, in a Sermon said, "That the King's Promises were "free Donatives, and ought not to be too "strictly examined or urged; and that they "must leave his Majesty to explain his own "Meaning in them." The King was so delighted with this Gloss, that he made him Bishop of *Chester*, as an Encouragement to other Clergymen to follow his Example.

As for the Judges, the King sent for them one by one, and talked privately with them in his Closet, in order to persuade them to declare for his dispensing Power; and some of the Judges, namely, Sir *Thomas Jones*, *William Montague*, Sir *Job Charlton*, and Sir

Ed-

Edward Neville, who would not comply, 1686.
were turned out, and others put in their
Places, and most of them Papists.

At the same Time the King made a Call of Serjeants at Law, among whom were several Papists.

The Privy-Council, in like Manner, underwent an Alteration, the King having received into it four zealous Catholicks, the Lord *Arundel*, the Lord *Bellasis*, who had been in the Tower, accused for having a Hand in the Popish Plot, the Lord *Dover*, and the Earl of *Tyrconnel*: He likewise admitted the new Bishop of *Chester*, and Doctor *Parker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, who was a reputed Papist.

The King having thus prepared Things, came to a Resolution of dispensing with the Penal Laws; and got all the Judges, except one, to give their Opinions, that the King had a Power so to do: and accordingly the Judges made it a Rule of Law, that the King was vested with such Power.

In consequence of this Decision, the Papists, with the King's Permission, set up, every where in the Kingdom, the free and open Exercise of their Religion. The Jesuits erected Colleges and Seminaries in all large Towns; and, at the same Time, four Popish Bishops were publickly consecrated in the King's Chapel, and sent to their respective Dioceses, under the Title of *Vicars Apostolical*. Monks appeared in the Habits of their Order at *Whitehall* and St *James*'s, and with

1686. with Aſſurance told the Proteſtants, that they hoped in a little Time to walk in Proceſſion through *Cheapſide*.

From this Time, no Poſts of Honour or Profit could be pretended to but by Papiſts, or ſuch as were thought ready to become ſo. Thus, by the Deciſion of the Judges, corrupted by the King before their Admiſſion, the Laws of *England* were given up, and the Conſtitution ſuffered a total Alteration.

The King ſent a circular Letter to the Biſhops, with an Order prohibiting all the inferior Clergy from preaching upon controverted Points of Divinity.

Notwithſtanding, there were ſeveral of the dignified Clergy that were far from prevaricating in the Diſcharge of their Office; theſe preached openly on Points controverted between their Church and that of *Rome*. It is Juſtice to do Honour to theſe faithful Miniſters of the Goſpel, by tranſmitting to Poſterity the Names of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them: Theſe were *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tenniſon*, *Wake*, *Patrick*, *Sharp*, *Sherlock*; all famous for their Writings, and all afterwards promoted to the firſt Dignities of the Church.

The King and his Popiſh Council were very much offended with this Boldneſs; therefore, in order to force the Proteſtant Clergy into a Compliance, the King erected a new Court for the Management of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

The Commiſſioners for this Purpoſe were three

three Bishops, *Canterbury*, *Durham*, and *Rochester*; the rest were of the Laity, of which the principal were *Jefferies*, Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of *Rochester*, Lord-Treasurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State, and the Lord-Chief Justice *Herbert*. The Commission was directed to any three of them, provided *Jefferies* was one. It is easy to guess at the Reason of the Nomination of *Jefferies* to be always one of the Number. 1686.

By this Commission, they had Power to exercise and execute all Manner of Jurisdictions and Preheminences touching any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions; to visit, reform, redress, and amend all Abuses, Offences, Contempts, and Enormities whatsoever, in Ecclesiastical Matters.

Many of the best Lawyers thought this Commission illegal, and contrary to the Act passed in the 17th Year of *Charles* I. for the abolishing the High Commission-Court; and the Archbishop would never act in it.

Shortly after the Commission was opened, Dr *Sharp*, in a Sermon, vindicated the Church of *England*, in opposition to the Errors of Popery. The King being informed of it, sent a Letter to the Bishop of *London*, commanding him forthwith to suspend him. The Bishop represented, in a Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, that he was to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge; and that, by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cause,

1686. Cauſe, and has cited the Party; and prayed him to communicate his Letter to the King, which he did, without any Effect.

The Biſhop, upon this, was cited to appear before the new Court, and was treated in a Manner unbecoming his Birth by *Jefferies*, who uſed him with his accuſtomed Inſolence. The Biſhop diſowned the Juriſdiction of the Court, alledging, that, as a Biſhop, he had no Judge but his Metropolitan; but his Plea was rejected, and he was ſuſpended for his Diſobedience and Contempt. Dr *Sharp* was likewiſe ſuſpended, but only for a few Days.

This Affair convinced all, that the Court was reſolved to ſilence all Proteſtant Miniſters: beſides, tho' at a Time of profound Peace, the King had formed a Camp of 15,000 Men, upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham*; and in this Camp was a publick Chapel, where Maſs was ſaid every Day.

One *Johnſon*, a Clergyman, addreſſed a Writing to the Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers in the Army; laying before them, the Reaſons that ought to prevent their being the Tools of the Court, for the Deſtruction of their Religion, and the Subverſion of the Government. The Author was cited before the Court of King's Bench, ſentenced to ſtand three Times in the Pillory, to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and to pay a Fine of 500 Merks. The Sentence was executed with great Rigour. This Writing, however,

ver, made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Minds of both Officers and Soldiers; and very much promoted the great Defection which happened two Years after in the Army. 1687.

About the ſame time *Miles Prance*, who had been a Witneſs againſt the Perſons tried for the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, was proſecuted for wilful and malicious Perjury; and ſentenced to pay a Fine of 100*l.* to ſtand three Times in the Pillory, and to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*.

The King now uſed all his Endeavours to gain Proſelytes. He ſucceeded in his Attempt upon the Earl of *Sunderland*; tho', for ſome private Reaſons, he refuſed to make a publick Abjuration.

But he was not ſo ſucceſsful in his Attack upon his Brother-in-law, the Earl of *Rocheſter*; for he bravely refuſed to forſake the Proteſtant Religion: upon which the King took from him the Treaſurer's Staff, and put the Treaſury into Commiſſion; but at the ſame time he aſſigned him a Penſion of 5000*l.* a-year upon the Poſt-office.

The Earl of *Clarendon*, his Brother, felt likewiſe the Effects of the King's Diſpleaſure, upon the ſame Account. He had the Privy Seal taken from him; which was given to the Lord *Arundel*, a Papiſt.

At laſt the King gave an unqueſtionable Proof of his Zeal for the Popiſh Religion, by ſending the Earl of *Caſtlemain* in Embaſſy to the Pope, to reconcile the three Kingdoms

1687. doms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the Holy See; but the Ambaſſador was received with great Coldneſs at *Rome*, which gave the King a ſenſible Mortification. *Innocent* II. reflected, that the Embaſſy was too much precipitated, as the Converſion of the three Kingdoms was yet far from being finiſhed.

The King ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed in *Scotland*, and another in *England*, for a free and entire Liberty of Conſcience.

The King, on all Occaſions, diſcovered his extraordinary Zeal for the Advancement of his Religion. The Earl of *Shrewſbury*, who ſome Years before had come over to the Proteſtant Religion, had his Regiment of Horſe taken from him, for refuſing to return to Popery. The Lords-Lieutenants of Counties were almoſt all Papiſts. As to the Judges, ſome were Papiſts; and the reſt, tho' Proteſtants, were Men diſpoſed to obey whatever the King commanded. In their Circuits, they uſed all their Authority with Rigour and Inſolence; for confirming the Right, aſſumed by the King, of diſpenſing with the Laws, and for diſcouraging all whom they found of incompliant Tempers.

The Society of the Middle Temple preſented an Addreſs of Thanks to the King, for his Declaration for a Toleration, and for aſſerting his own Royal Prerogative; which they promiſed to defend with their Lives and Fortunes.

The

The King still continued his Application 1687.
for gaining the Members of Parliament; he closeted one by one, all that were in *London*, and used all Arguments possible, to bring them to a Consent to abolish the Penal Laws. By his Art and Address he gained some, but could not move the Steadiness of the Majority. This made him, by Proclamation, dissolve the Parliament the 2d of *July*, as mentioned.

This Parliament shewed a great Zeal for the King, in the Beginning of their Session; but this was owing, purely, to their mistaken good Opinion of him: for, when they plainly saw that their Religion was at Stake, they found it necessary to concert new Measures.

The King thinking to have a Parliament entirely at his Devotion, issued out *Quo Warrantos* against divers Corporations; to the End, that when they were deprived of their Charters, the King, by a Grant of new ones, might make himself Master of the Elections.

At last the King shewed so open a Contempt of the Law, that no Person could mistake him. After, as we have seen, he had sent a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, he would have a Nuncio in Ordinary residing at his Court. The Pope had the Year before nominated *Ferdinand Dadda* to this Post; but he was received privately.

The King now having pulled off the Mask, honoured him with a Publick Re-

cep-

1688. ception; tho' the assuming the Character of the Pope's Nuncio was High-Treason by the Laws of the Land. To give more Lustre to the Nuncio, he was first consecrated Archbishop of *Amasia*, in the Royal Chapel; after which he made his Publick Entry at *Windsor* with great Pomp and Magnificence. This was a Sight sufficiently astonishing, to the Protestants, to see a Nuncio from the Pope, preceded by a Cross-Bearer, in his Pontifical Habit, and a Train of Priests and Monks, in the Habits of their respective Orders.

The King ordered the Duke of *Somerset* to attend the Nuncio to his Audience; but he excused himself from an Office which the Laws of the Land made criminal. This so incensed the King, that he took from him his Places of Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Colonel of Dragoons. The Duke of *Grafton*, less scrupulous, accepted the Office refused by the Duke of *Somerset*.

A Proclamation issued, to notify the Queen's being with Child; with an Order of solemn Thanks.

The Papists were transported at this agreeable News; tho', it is certain, that the Protestants, from this time, began to form Suspicions about the Queen's Pregnancy.

The King, finding he could not bring over the last Parliament, nor get a new one to consent to the repealing of the Test and those other Penal Laws, ordered Letters to be written, to sound whether the Prince and

Prin-

Princeſs of *Orange* would conſent thereto; 1688. but they declared their Opinion againſt the repealing of theſe Laws. This darted in a Ray of Hope upon the *Engliſh*, that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* would not abandon them in their preſſing Neceſſity.

The King, finding this Method would not take, diſpatched Emiſſaries down to the ſeveral Counties, to make ſure of the Elections, before he durſt hazard to call a Parliament; but the more ſolicitous he was in this Point, the leſs Inclination did he find in the People. Thus foreſeeing all his Artifices would prove unſucceſsful, he gave out Commiſſions for raiſing of new Troops, and cauſed a large Fleet to be fitted out. The new Commiſſions were almoſt all beſtowed upon *Iriſh* and Popiſh Officers.

The King alſo writ to the States-General, to demand the Return of the ſix *Engliſh* and *Scots* Regiments that were in their Service; and iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding his natural born Subjects to enter into the Service of any foreign Prince or State.

The States-General refuſed to ſend the Regiments; alledging, that the Treaties on this Subject did not oblige them, but in caſe of a War, or ſome Inſurrection at home. Upon this the King iſſued a Proclamation, to re-call home all his Subjects in the Service of the States-General.

This made the Prince of *Orange* offer Paſſes to all the Officers of the ſix Regiments

1688. ments that were willing to return home; of which about 40 of them accepted.

The King issued a new Proclamation, for establishing Liberty of Conscience; and, by Order, enjoined all the Bishops to cause it to be read in the Churches of their respective Dioceses. This was intended to lay the Bishops under a Necessity, either of making themselves in some measure the Instruments of his Designs against the Protestant Religion, or of incurring the Penalties of their Disobedience in case of a Refusal.

The Bishops who were in *London* assembled at the Archbishop's Palace, to debate this Affair. The Result of their Conference was, that it was better to obey God than Man; and they could not obey the King without betraying their own Consciences: and resolved to expose themselves to the Storm that threatened them, rather than give up the Interests of God and his Church.

Pursuant to this Resolution, the consulting Bishops, *Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Lloyd*, Bishop of St *Asaph*, *Kenn*, of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Turner*, of *Ely*, *Lake*, of *Chichester*, *White*, of *Peterborough*, *Trelawny*, of *Bristol*, presented a Petition to the King.

The Petition contained the Reasons for their Refusal; and that they would be willing to come into such Measures as should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation.

The King answered them in an angry Tone,

Tone, and uſed Threats; which the Biſhops ſeeing, replied, they would reſign themſelves to the Will of God, and then retired. 1688.

The Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, both Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and two others, cauſed the Declaration to be read in their Dioceſes; but it generally fell out, wherever it was read, that the Congregation immediately left the Church.

The Biſhops were cited to appear before the Council, and the Chancellor threatened them with Proſecution; and aſked, whether they would give their Recognizances to appear before the King's Bench? They refuſed, inſiſting on the Privilege of their Peerage; which they were reſolved to maintain, as well as the Rights of the Church.

Upon this Anſwer eighteen Privy Counſellors, ſeveral of them Papiſts, ſigned their Commitment to the Tower; for contriving, making, and publiſhing a ſeditious Libel againſt his Majeſty and his Government. They were ſent in the moſt private Manner by Water, for fear of a Tumult in the City.

Yet it did not eſcape the Knowledge of many, who followed at the Water Side, falling upon their Knees, and aſking their Bleſſing, with Thanks for their Conſtancy; even the Soldiers did the ſame when they came to the Tower. It was eaſy for the King to ſee, that he was very far from what he was aiming at; but his Popiſh Counſellors puſhed

1688. ed him on, for fear ſome Accident ſhould deprive them of the Inſtrument for carrying on their Deſigns.

The 10th of *June* the Queen was brought to bed of a Prince; tho' it has been, and ſtill is, very much ſuſpected, that this Birth was ſuppoſititious.

Some Hiſtorians ſeem to prove, that the Queen was with Child, but miſcarried; upon which, the Day firſt given out for her Delivery was altered. It is agreed to be Fact, that none were preſent at the Time but two Dreſſers, one Undreſſer, and the Midwife; and that it was on a *Sunday* Morning, when all the Proteſtant Ladies were at Church. Tho' there was a general Suſpicion before her Delivery; yet no Care was taken to give real Proofs of the Queen's being with Child.

The King, and eighteen Lords and Privy Counſellors, were let into the Bed-chamber, and ſtood at the fartheſt End of the Room, for ſome Minutes; and a warming Pan was brought into the Room, in which ſome ſuſpected a Child was conveyed; as there could be no Occaſion for it on the 10th of *June*, when the Weather was extreamly hot. However that be, no Child was heard to cry. Some affirm, that the firſt Child ſuppoſed to be brought, afterwards died; that a ſecond, ſubſtituted in its room, died alſo; and that a third ſurvived, afterwards known by the Name of the *Pretender*. In ſhort, the Suſpicions ſeem ſtrong, as delivered

vered in Hiſtory; yet no Facts appear to 1688.
prove this to be really a ſuppoſititious Birth.

The Proteſtants and Papiſts are oppoſite in their Belief; or, however, expreſs themſelves to be ſo. The Princeſs *Ann*, of *Denmark*, the King's Daughter, was ſent to the *Bath*; and did not return till the Queen was delivered. This ſtill added to the Suſpicions of the former; and the Papiſts ſhew the Neceſſity of her being there for the Recovery of her Health.

The King ordered ſome entire Regiments out of *Ireland*, and filled up a great many Vacancies, in his *Engliſh* Regiments, with *Iriſh* and Popiſh Officers; which gave great Diſguſt to the whole Army.

An Addreſs was ſent to the King, from the City of *Carliſle*, "to thank his Majeſty for his Royal Army, which was really the Honour and Safety of the Nation; that when his Majeſty thought fit to call a Parliament, they would chuſe ſuch Members as ſhould conſent in taking off the Penal Laws and Teſts."

The Trial of the ſeven Biſhops came on at the King's Bench Bar, and was ſolemnly argued by Council on both Sides. *Wright*, the Chief Juſtice, and *Allybone*, were the King's Creatures; *Holloway* and *Powel*, the other two, were Men of Integrity, and of Opinion for the Biſhops. The Jury ſat up all Night, and next Morning brought them in Not guilty: upon which enſued loud Acclamations of Joy through the Ci-

1688. ties of *London* and *Westminster*, which were that Night illuminated, and numberless Bonfires lighted; a Precedent followed by almost all the great Towns in *England*.

The King was then gone to the Army on *Hounslow* Heath, and dining in the Earl of *Feversham*'s Tent when the News came. The Soldiers immediately shewed their Joy by loud Acclamations, which startled the King and his Company. The King contented himself with saying, it should be worse for them. *Holloway* and *Powel* were immediately turned out from being Judges.

The King upon this thought proper to try how his Army stood affected, and bid all the Officers and Soldiers, who were unwilling to contribute to the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, lay down their Arms; upon which the whole Army, except the Popish Officers and Soldiers, threw down their Arms. This made the King for sometime speechless; but, recovering himself, he bid them take them up again, and suddenly told them, he would not for the future do them the Honour to ask their Advice.

The King, now seeing that a Protestant Army was a very improper Instrument to bring in Popery, resolved to cashier Numbers of the Protestant Officers and Soldiers, and fill the Vacancies with Papists. A Number of *Irish* Soldiers were accordingly ordered into the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment; but Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, and five other Captains, opposed it. This made

them

them be taken into Cuſtody, tried by a Court Martial as Mutineers, and caſhier'd. 1688.

The Fleet was no better diſpoſed than the Army. This appeared from an Attempt of Vice-Admiral *Strickland* to have had Maſs ſaid on board his Ship; which raiſed ſuch a Mutiny among the Sailors, that with ſome Difficulty the Officers ſaved the Prieſts from being thrown over-board.

The Commiſſioners of the new Eccleſiaſtical Court ſent an Order, to command all Chancellors, Arch-deacons, Commiſſaries, and Officials, to enquire in what Churches and Chapels his Majeſty's Declaration was read, and tranſmit an Account thereof to them; but this Order was but very little regarded.

Soon after Doctor *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who was one of the Commiſſioners of the new Court, and had complied with the King's Declaration, and cauſed it to be read, withdrew from the new Eccleſiaſtical Court; and gave his Reaſons why he could no longer ſerve the King. He had, to be ſure, a foreſight of the Storm that was gathering.

Both Clergy and Laity, of the Church of *England*, now began to think it high time to enter upon Meaſures for ſtopping the King in his Career, and reducing his Power within ſome Bounds.

The firſt and moſt neceſſary Step taken by them, in order to this, was the Project of a ſtrict Union between the Church of *England* and the Non-conformiſts for their mutual Safe-

1688. Safety; the two Parties now ſeeing, that their Diviſion might be the Cauſe of their Ruin.

The Church of *England* owned, that ſhe had carried the Paſſive Obedience Doctrine too far; and that it had produced bad Effects.

The Preſbyterians, on their Side, who had groundleſsly accuſed the Church of *England* of a Bias towards Popery, could not forbear acknowledging their Error, after the Firmneſs of the ſeven Biſhops had diſcovered the Injuſtice of this Accuſation.

Theſe Diſpoſitions, being well managed by prudent and well meaning Men of either Party, produced at laſt an Uniformity of Sentiments. In a word, without the King's Knowledge, the two Parties of Whig and Tory became reconciled, and reſolved to labour jointly for the Preſervation of their Country; but unfortunately this Union ended with the Danger.

The Plan for the Execution of this grand Deſign was, to put the Prince of *Orange* at the Head of the Party. That Prince was ſo intereſted in the Affair, that no doubt was made of his Aſſiſtance, as well for the Preſervation of *England*, as for ſecuring the Succeſſion to the Princeſs his Wife; who now ſaw herſelf defeated of her Right by a Prince who generally paſſed for ſuppoſititious. Theſe were Motives ſufficiently ſtrong to put the Prince of *Orange* in Action: but there was ſtill another; namely, the extream Danger to which *Holland* would ſtand

ex-

exposed by King *James*'s Success, on account of the close Union between him and the King of *France*. 1688.

Several *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen repaired to the *Hague* on other plausible Pretences; but, in reality, to confer with the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince of *Orange* being come to a full Resolution of putting himself at the Head of the Party; it was, after several Consultations, resolved, that the *English* Lords at the *Hague* should demand Assistance of the States, in the Name of all *England*.

As the Ruin of *Holland* would doubtless have soon followed the Slavery of *England*, the States readily came in to grant their Assistance.

All the Difficulty lay in the Preparations for this great Work, in the Concealment of it, in the raising Forces to supply the Place of those which the Prince should lead into *England*, and in securing a timely Relief in case the King of *France* should fall upon *Holland*: but all these Exigencies were provided for with great Address and Secresy.

The Difference then on foot about the Election of an Archbishop of *Cologne*, between Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the Cardinal of *Furstemburgh*, furnished the States with a Pretence for forming an Army, and preparing a Fleet.

Under this Pretence, a Fleet of 50 Men of War, and a sufficient Number of Transports,

1688. ports, were got ready for the Embarkation of 12 or 13,000 Men; and, to prevent the Alarm, the Merchants of *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, and other Maritime Places, gave out, that they were to freight these Ships on several Pretexts; so that the *French* and *English* Ambassadors at the *Hague* could get no Intelligence what was transacting The Prince of *Orange* was to put himself on board this Fleet; and, on his landing in *England*, the *English* Persons of Quality were to disperse themselves into divers Parts of the Kingdom, to excite Insurrections, and make Levies of Men, while the Prince and his little Army made Head against the King.

In the mean time, several Advices being brought to the King, that an Armament was making in *Holland*, he sent to demand the Reason: The States answered, that they followed the Example of the King of *England*, who had a powerful Fleet and a numerous Army on foot, without any Reason that they could guess at.

This made his Majesty suspect there was a Design against him, so he put himself in a Posture of Defence: The Governments of *Portsmouth* and *Hull* were given to Papists, and a Majority of Popish Officers and Soldiers put into these Garrisons.

The King of *France*, it is said, made Offer of a Fleet and 30,000 Men, to assist *James* in case of Need; but he was persuaded by the Earl of *Sunderland* not to accept it, fearing the *French* thereby had a Design

up-

upon *England*. Some pretend the Earl of *Sunderland* was gained by the Prince of *Orange*. 1688.

Be that as it will, the King had ſo little a Belief of the Prince of *Orange*'s attacking him, that he refuſed this Offer; and the Court of *France* could not gueſs at the Meaning of ſo amazing an Indolence.

The Court of *France*, however, gueſſing at the Intentions of the Prince of *Orange*, ſent a Memorial to the States General, intimating, that the firſt Acts of Hoſtility that ſhould be committed by their Troops, or their Fleet, againſt his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, ſhould be looked upon to be a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with the Crown of *France*; who would, in ſuch Caſe, aſſiſt the King of *England*.

The States gave an ambiguous Anſwer to this Memorial, and demanded of the King of *England*, to know what Alliance between *England* and *France* had been enter'd into to occaſion ſuch a Memorial: But *James* denied his having any Hand in it, or knowing any thing of the Matter.

The King iſſued a Proclamation of his Intentions to call a new Parliament, and that the Roman Catholicks ſhould remain uncapable to be Members of the Houſe of Commons; but this had little Effect upon the People, nor were any Writs ever ſent for that Purpoſe.

At laſt the King, being no longer able to doubt of the Prince of *Orange*'s Intention, ap-

1688 appointed the Earl of *Feversham* to command his Army, and the Lord *Dartmouth* to command the Fleet. He sent also to assure the States, that there was no other Treaty between *France* and him but what was publick and printed: For he found that this Report had done him great Prejudice in the Minds of his Subjects.

The King having at last received certain Advice from his Ambassador at the *Hague*, that the Prince of *Orange*'s Designs were upon *England*, and that several *English* Lords were to embark with him, it threw his Majesty into the greatest Consternation what to do. He knew that the Protestants, who were much more numerous than the Papists, would all take in against him: This made him send for the Bishops, and tell them he would do whatever they thought necessary for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of his Subjects, without Prejudice to the Rights of the Crown; and desired them to consult together, and give him their Advice.

The King issued a Proclamation, to inform his Subjects of the intended Invasion of the Prince of *Orange*, made fair Promises as to Liberty, Property, and Religion, and prayed them to lay bye all Jealousies, and stand by him in the Defence of the Nation from foreign Invasion. To give some Marks of his Sincerity, he restored the Bishop of *London*, who had been suspended; restored the City their Charter, with all their former Pri-

Privileges; and published a General Pardon, some few excepted. 1688.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and eight more, waited on his Majesty with their Advice, reduced to ten Articles; which contained in Substance, a Redress of all the Grievances during his Reign, and that he might restore the Church and State to all its Rights and Properties, as by Law established.

The King being sensible that a Refusal to comply with the Advice of the Bishops, would increase the Suspicion of his Subjects, he dissolved the Ecclesiastical High-Commission-Court, restored all the Corporation Charters, removed all Popish Lords Lieutenants of Counties, and Justices of Peace, and put Protestant ones in their Rooms; and ordered an Enquiry to be made into all Abuses, and to be regulated. Thus, in about twelve Days, that formidable Fabrick was in effect demolished, which the Romish Cabal had spent near four Years in erecting.

But all this was not capable to restore the King to the Confidence of his Subjects; because it came too late, and seemed rather the Effect of Necessity than Inclination.

As his whole Trust and Reliance were now confined to his Army, he applied himself with all his Might to augment and strengthen it with Troops, which should wholly depend on him. In Obedience to Orders already given by him, 2500 Men landed at *Chester* from *Ireland*, and 3000 *Scots* were ad-

1688. advanced as far as *Carlisle*. New Commissions were granted, to raise ten Regiments of Horse and Foot. All the Militia had Orders to hold themselves in readiness to march on the first Summons: And a Proclamation was published, commanding all Horses, Oxen, and Cattle, to be removed the Space of 20 Miles from the Places where the Enemy should attempt to land.

The Mob of *London*, growing insolent on the Hopes of speedy Assistance, began to insult the Popish Chapels; wherefore the King order'd them to be shut up, and the Romish Priests and Jesuits, seeing a Storm approaching, began gradually to disappear, and to consult their own Safety, by a timely Retreat to foreign Parts.

The Prince of *Wales* was baptized, the Pope, represented by his Nuncio, being God-father, and the Queen Dowager Godmother: His Names were *James-Francis-Edward.*

The King finding the Suspicions of his Subjects to be very strong, that the Prince of *Wales* was a supposititious Child, called together all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then in Town, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, and several of his Majesty's learned Council; and several Depositions were taken relating to his Birth, and recorded: But the Proof was not so full as to remove the Suspicions of the People; for the most material Witnesses fixed no Time to what they deposed.

The

The Earl of *Sunderland* was ſuddenly removed from his Places of Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State. 1688.

The Prince of *Orange* being expected the firſt fair Wind, the Chancellor *Jefferies*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and twenty others, got the King's Pardon granted them, for what they had acted contrary to the Laws.

The Prince of *Orange* publiſhed a Manifeſto, ſetting forth the Reaſons of his coming to aſſiſt the *Engliſh*; which, in Subſtance, was to redreſs all their Grievances. The States General alſo publiſhed a Declaration, ſetting forth the Reaſons why they aſſiſted the Prince of *Orange* in his Expedition to *England*.

The Prince of *Orange*, being in readineſs for the intended Expedition, went into the Aſſembly of the States General the 16th of *October*, to take a ſolemn Leave of them: This was done in a Manner ſo tender and moving, that both himſelf and the States melted into Tears.

He put to Sea the 19th of *October*, in a Frigate of about 30 Guns: The whole Fleet conſiſted of about 50 Men of War, 25 Frigates, as many Fireſhips, with near 400 Victuallers, and other Veſſels, for the Tranſportation of above 4000 Horſe, and 10,000 Foot.

The *Engliſh*, of the greateſt Diſtinction and Quality, who accompanied the Prince, were, the Earls of *Shrewſbury* and *Maccles-field*;

1688. *field*; the Lords *Mordaunt*, *Wiltshire*, *Pawlet*, *Eland* and *Dumblain*; Admiral *Herbert*, Mr *Herbert*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr *Russel*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Major *Wildman*, Dr *Burnet*, Mr *Herbord*, Mr *Ferguson*, and others less known. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van of the Fleet, Vice-Admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear, and the Prince placed himself in the Main Body, carrying a Flag with *English* Colours, and their Highness's Arms, surrounded with this Motto, *The Protestant Religion and Liberties of* England; and underneath, the Motto of the House of *Nassau*, *Je maintiendrai*, i. e. *I will maintain.*

The Fleet had been but a few Hours at Sea, when such a Storm arose as in two Hours dispersed the whole Fleet; some run for one Port, some for another: The Loss was but inconsiderable; but the *Dutch* Gazettes, out of Artifice, magnified the Loss to that Degree, that it was said the Prince could not possibly be in readiness to pursue his Designs till next Spring.

The King received the News with great Pleasure, and doubted not but against that Time he would be in a Condition to break all the Prince's Measures. In this Belief he revoked some of his Acts of Grace granted to his Subjects, and so made it clear beyond Contradiction, that these Acts were extorted by meer Necessity.

It was in this critical Juncture, that Captain *Langham*, an *Englishman* in the Service of the States, was seized on his Arrival in *En-*

England. In his Portmanteau was found a great many Copies of the Prince's Declaration; which, when the King ſaw, and found theſe Words, "that the Prince was moſt earneſtly invited over by divers of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, by many Gentlemen and others," he ſent for the Archbiſhop, and the other Biſhops then in *London*, and demanded of them whether this Part, of their inviting him, was true? The Biſhops would give no other Anſwer than a general Aſſurance of their faithful Allegiance to his Majeſty. 1688.

The King, upon this, demanded of them to ſign a Paper of Abhorrence as to the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Invaſion; but the Biſhops excuſed themſelves, which threw the King into a great Rage.

About the ſame time the Prince of *Orange* writ a Letter to the Officers of the *Engliſh* Army, and Admiral *Herbert* writ another to the *Engliſh* Fleet, repreſenting the Danger they would be in, in making themſelves the King's Inſtruments. Theſe Letters were attended with wonderful Succeſs; for, from this Time many of them came to a Reſolution of ſerving the King no more, till Religion and Liberty were ſecured by a free Parliament.

The Prince put to Sea again in eleven Days, and went himſelf aboard a new Veſſel called the *Brille.* On the 3d of *November* the Fleet enter'd the Channel, and lay bye between *Calais* and *Dover*, until the Ships that

1688. that were behind came up. The *English* and *French* Shores were cover'd with infinite Numbers of Spectators; to see 5 or 600 Ships, in so narrow a Channel, was no common Sight.

The Lord *Dartmouth*, Admiral of the *English* Fleet, lay then at Anchor at the *Gun-fleet*, being kept in by Easterly Winds.

The Prince carried his Fleet into *Torbay*, and made such Dispatch, that the whole Army was landed in one Day. The Lord *Dartmouth* at last put to Sea, in pursuit of the *Dutch* Fleet; but was obliged to put into *Portsmouth*.

Upon this Occasion these two famous Verses of *Claudian* were applied to the Prince of *Orange*.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica Venti.

Heav'n's Fav'rite! to whom the Skies Assistance lend,
Whilst on thy Sails conspiring Winds attend.

It was thus the Prince of *Orange* landed in *England* the 5th of *November*, without any Opposition. The Prince's Army left *Torbay* about Noon next Day, and marched thro' bad Roads and rainy Weather: The Officers were very much mortified on their first Encampment, being forced to lie upon the Earth, wet to the Skin, their Baggage being yet in the Ships. The Prince, however, gave them all the Encouragement in

his

his Power, and purſued his March to *Exeter*, about twenty Miles from *Torbay*. 1688.

The King hearing the Prince was landed, drew together his Army on *Saliſbury* Plain, and waited there till the reſt of his Army joined him; which were diſperſed into different Parts of the Kingdom.

The King ſtudied, as much as he was able, to expreſs a great Confidence from the Superiority of his Forces: And to ſhew how little fearful he was, he declared publickly, upon hearing that the Counties of *Kent* and *York*, and the City of *London*, were preparing an Addreſs to the King, for an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*, That he would look upon all thoſe as his Enemies who ſhould pretend to adviſe him to treat with the Invader of his Kingdoms.

The Prince, now at *Exeter*, found not the Encouragement he expected. The Biſhop, on the firſt News of his Landing, fled to *London*; and, in Recompence of his Fidelity, was rewarded with the Archbiſhoprick of *York*; which had been kept long vacant, with Intention, as it was thought, to confer it on Father *Peters*, the King's Confeſſor.

The *Sunday* after the Prince came to *Exeter*, Dr *Burnet* mounting the Pulpit, to read his Declaration, all the Canons, and part of the Congregation, left the Church: In ſhort, he ſtaid nine Days at *Exeter*, without being joined by any Perſon of Diſtinction; but on the tenth Day, ſome of the principal Gentlemen

1688. men of the Country repaired to him. Amongst these was Sir *Edward Seymour*; by whose Advice an Association was drawn up, and signed by all Persons then with the Prince, and who afterwards came in to him. It was likewise sent to several other Parts of the Kingdom, and signed by great Numbers of Hands. The Association declared, that they would stick firm to one another against all Opposers, till their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, were secured to them in a free Parliament.

From this Time the Affairs of the Prince, who left *Exeter* to march for *Salisbury*, put on a new Face. Every Day brought into him Persons distinguished by their Birth, Estates, or Employments.

The Lord *Colchester*, Son to Earl *Rivers*, a Lieutenant in the Life Guards, waited upon the Prince, accompanied by Mr *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *John How*, Esq; and about 60 more on Horseback. These were followed by the Earl of *Abingdon*, Captain *Clarges*, Mr *Russel*, and others.

Soon after the Lord *Cornbury*, Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Colonel of Dragoons, joined the Prince, and carried with him his own Regiment, and those of Horse of *Berwick*, St *Alban*'s, and *Fenwick*. The Lord *Delamere* and the Lord *Lovelace* also joined him.

The two Archbishops, five Bishops, and several Peers, petitioned his Majesty to call a free Parliament, and to consider of some Ex-

Expedient to give Satisfaction to the Prince 1688.
of *Orange*. The King's Anſwer was, "That
"he would call a free Parliament as ſoon as
"the Prince had quitted the Realm." This
gave no Satisfaction to the Lords, who eaſily
ſaw the King was for no Parliament of
which he could not be Maſter.

James left *London* to go to his Army, after having recommended the Care of the City to the Lord Mayor, expecting to hinder all further Deſertions. He offered to grant Paſſes to ſuch as were deſirous to go over to the Prince, being afraid of ſome Conſpiracy amongſt the Officers to deliver him up to the Prince.

He left behind him a Council, compoſed of five Lords; the Lord *Godolphin*, Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Lords *Powis* and *Bellaſis*, both Papiſts, and the Lord *Preſton*, ſuſpected as ſuch. It is ſaid the King deſigned to leave his Confeſſor, *Peters*, one in that Truſt; but he wiſely conſulted his Safety, by a timely Eſcape into *France*.

On the 19th of *November* the King arrived at *Saliſbury*, and was ſeized with a violent Bleeding at the Noſe; which increaſed the next Day, as he was going to view part of his Army.

Moſt of the chief Officers applied themſelves to the Earl of *Feverſham*, their General; deſiring him to aſſure the King, that, upon any Occaſion, they would be glad to ſpill the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Service; but that they could not, in Con-

1688. ſcience, fight againſt one, who was come over with no other Deſign than to procure a free Parliament for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.

This let the King ſee he was not to rely on his Army. The Earl of *Feverſham* being very diſtruſtful of the Lord *Churchill*, (afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*) one of the King's Favourites, Lieutenant-General, Captain of a Troop of his Life Guards, and Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, was very earneſt with the King to have him ſecured; but the King, fearing a Mutiny, refuſed. Next Day the Lord *Churchill* went over to the Prince, accompanied by the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkley*, and four or five Captains of his own Regiment, and ſome other Officers.

The Lord *Churchill* left a Letter for the King, containing the Reaſons why he deſerted him; which was from the inviolable Dictates of his Conſcience, and a neceſſary Concern for his Religion: with which, ſays he, nothing ought to come in Competition.

This Defection of the Lord *Churchill* was a ſtunning Blow to the King, who, from this Time, ſaw not on whom he could rely; and, not daring to hazard his Perſon with his Army, he returned to *London*.

He iſſued a Proclamation of Pardon to all his Subjects that would deſert the Prince; but this had no Succeſs. He had ſtill a more terrible Mortification in the Defection of the Prince of *Denmark*, his Son-in-law,

who

who went over to the Prince, in Company with the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *George Hewit*, and others. That Prince wrote a dutiful Letter to the King, in Vindication of his Conduct; wherein he grounds his Defection principally on his Concern for the Protestant Religion. 1688.

The Prince of *Orange*, upon the News of the King's Return, marched to *Salisbury*, and made a triumphant Entry into that City, amidst the Acclamations of the People, the King's Army being retired to *Reading*.

James received every Day News of the Prince's Party becoming Master of the principal Towns; but the Affliction which touched him the most sensibly, was the seeing himself forsaken by his own Daughter, the Princess of *Denmark*, who had privately withdrawn from *Whitehall*, and retired to the Prince, her Spouse, at *Oxford*.

She left behind her a very affectionate Letter, directed to the Queen. She expressed her unhappy Condition, in being so divided between Duty and Affection to a Father and a Husband; therefore she knew not what to do, but to follow one to preserve the other.

The Popish Counsellors seeing all their Measures broken, took what Care they could to shelter themselves from the impending Storm, whatever became of the King; who now found himself under a Necessity, as his sole Refuge, to apply to the Protestant Peers,

1688. Peers, whose Counsels he had before rejected, and treated as declared Enemies.

For which Purpose *James* called as many of the Peers together, both Spiritual and Temporal, as were in *London*. The Number was but small; but when he had them before him, he prayed their Advice.

On this Occasion he had the Mortification to hear a Relation of all his unwarrantable Proceedings since his Accession to the Throne; and particularly his violent Measures to destroy the Protestant Religion, and subvert the Liberties of *England*; and now they told him, no other Method was left but the calling a free Parliament, and turning all Papists out of their Employments, and sending to treat with the Prince of *Orange*.

James, upon this, next Day declared in Council, that he was resolved to call a free Parliament, that should meet on the 15th of *January* next; and accordingly the Chancellor was ordered to issue out Writs. Commissioners were sent to treat with the Prince; but as to the Papists, he would leave that to the Parliament to be debated there.

The Commissioners delivered the Propositions in Writing. *James* observing, that all the Causes of Compaint alledged by his Highness seemed to be referred to a free Parliament, he had issued out his Writs to call one. He had sent Commissioners to his Highness, for adjusting all Matters relating to the Freedom of Elections, and Security of the Parliament; and, in order to that proposed,

posed, that the respective Armies might be kept at such a Distance from *London*. 1688.

The Prince gave no Answer to this; but, by the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen with him, sent the following Propositions.

I. That all Papists be disarmed, disbanded, and removed from all Employments.

II. That all Proclamations which reflect upon us be re-called; and that if any Person, for having assisted us, have been committed, that they be forthwith set at Liberty.

III. That, for the Security and Safety of the City of *London*, the Custody and Government of the Tower be immediately put into the Hands of the City.

IV. That if his Majesty shall think fit to be in *London*, during the Sitting of the Parliament, that we may be there also, with equal Number of Guards: Or, if his Majesty shall please to be in any Place from *London*, whatever Distance he thinks fit, that we may be at a Place of the same Distance; and that the respective Armies be from *London* 30 Miles; and that no further Forces be brought into the Kingdom.

V. That, for the Security of the City of *London* and their Trade, *Tilbury* Fort be put into the Hands of the said City.

VI. That a sufficient Part of the publick Revenue be assigned to us, for the Support of our Troops, untill the sitting of a free Parliament.

VII. That, to prevent the landing of the

French,

1688. *French*, or other Foreign Troops, *Portſmouth* may be put into ſuch Hands as by his Majeſty and us ſhall be agreed on.

These Propoſals were ſo reaſonable, that his Majeſty owned they were better than he expected, and called a Council the next Day, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe an Accommodation: But the very ſame Night the King, as is preſumed, conſulted with ſome of his Popiſh Counſellors, whoſe interested Advice overthrew all theſe flattering Expectations. Theſe Counſellors were eaſily apprehenſive of what they were to expect from a free Parliament; ſo adviſed the King rather to withdraw into *France*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he might hope to finiſh the Work which he had ſo glorioſly begun. They alſo inſtilled into the Queen ſuch Fears, as made her uſe all her Influence with the King to engage him to do as they adviſed. This Advice took, and the Queen reſolved to withdraw into *France* with the Prince of *Wales*, and his Majeſty promiſed to follow with all convenient Speed.

The Queen and her Son arrived in *France*, and was received by his Majeſty there with the greateſt Marks of Affection. His Majeſty followed two Days after, accompanied only by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr *Sheldon*, and *Abbadie*, a *Frenchman*, Page of the Back-ſtairs, without acquainting any other Perſon with the Deſign.

The King, before he went, writ to the Earl

Earl of *Feversham* to disband his Forces, 1688.
without any Care taken of their Pay. He likewise ordered all the Writs to be burnt that were issued out for the electing of a Parliament; and when he took Water, he threw the Great Seal into the *Thames*. This Conduct furnished his Subjects afterwards with the Inference, that he had abandoned them to a perfect Anarchy; and thereby authorized them to chuse such a Form of Government as should seem most convenient, or to elect another King.

As soon as the King's Flight was known, a general Consternation ensued: However, about 30 Spiritual and Temporal Lords repaired to *Guildhall*, and sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. After a short Consultation, they came to a Resolution of adhering to the Prince of *Orange*, and of sending Deputies to him with this Resolution, signed by the whole Assembly. They next sent for Colonel *Skelton*, Lieutenant of the Tower, of whom they demanded the Keys; which he willingly resigning, they were given to the Lord *Lucas*. Shortly after the Common Council of the City sent Deputies to the Prince, with an Address, imploring his Protection, and praying him to honour the City with his Presence.

Upon the first Assurance of the King's Flight, the Militia of *London* and *Westminster* were up in Arms; yet they could not prevent the Mob from assembling and committing some Disorders. The Rabble confined their

1688. their Rage chiefly to the Mass-houses erected by his Majesty in the City and Suburbs; which they demolished entirely, and made Bonfires of the Materials.

The Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, disguised in a Seaman's Habit, attempting to escape in a Vessel, was discovered as he was looking thorough the Window of the House where he lay hid, and was dragged out by the Mob, and carried before the Lord Mayor, who declined meddling with him. The Chancellor, fearing he would be tore in Pieces, demanded he might be sent to the Tower; which, at last, was granted him. It is pretended, that he offered to discover a great many Secrets, and, in Expectation of that, was kept some time in Prison: But he died there; some say by the Blows he received by the Mob; some say, by drinking Spiritous Liquors, and some pretend, by the Stone. Never Man had better deserved a publick Punishment.

The Earl of *Feversham*, after communicating the King's Letter to the principal Officers, dismissed the Army, and gave Notice of it by a Trumpet to the Prince of *Orange*; who returned no Answer.

Some *Irish* Soldiers of the disbanded Troops finding themselves moneyless, forced open a Country House, to keep themselves from starving. Upon this a Man in the Neighbourhood ran directly to *London*, crying as he passed, "That the *Irish* were up, "firing

"firing of Houfes, and marching to *Lon-* 1688.
"*don.*" This fpread abroad, and put the City and the whole Kingdom in Fear, till the true Caufe of it was known.

The Prince of *Orange*, fearing that great Diforders might be committed by a difbanded Army, iffued out a Declaration, requring all Officers and Soldiers of the difbanded Army forthwith to repair to fuch Places as fhould be appointed for that Purpofe. This Declaration was followed by another of the Lords at *London* to the fame Effect, with an additional Promife of Subfiftance till they fhould be otherwife provided for.

The King embarked in a little Veffel near *Feverfham*, but was detained by tempeftuous Weather. Sir *Edward Hales*, one of his Attendants, having fent his Footman to the Poft-office at *Feverfham*, he was known by a Perfon, who gave the Alarm, that Sir *Edward* was not far off; and the Footman was followed to the River Side, and feen making Signs to fome People on board a Bark; whereupon feveral Perfons boarded the Ship where his Majefty was. Sir *Edward* was foon known; and his Majefty being taken for his Chaplain, had a great many Indignities put upon him.

He was rifled of 400 Guineas, feveral valuable Seals and Jewels. At laft, being known by a Conftable, he begged Pardon, and ordered Reftitution to be made of what had been taken from him. The King received the Jewels and Seals; but gave the

 Money

1688. Money to be divided amongſt the Rabble. After this he deſired Leave to go, but was denied; and they conducted him to a publick Inn in the Town. Here he ſent for the Earl of *Winchelſea*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, who prevailed with him not to leave the Kingdom, but to return towards *London*.

This News being brought to *London*, had various Effects upon the Minds of the People. The Lords and Magiſtrates at *London*, who had made ſuch Advances towards the Prince of *Orange*, were in ſome Confuſion, fearing they ſhould be called to an Account, if Affairs ſhould take a different Turn. At laſt the Lords aſſembling, thought it proper to depute four of their Body to wait on the King, with an Invitation to him to return to *Whitehall*, and with Aſſurances to treat him with all the Reſpect due.

At the ſame time an Expreſs was diſpatched to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him, that his Majeſty was ſtill in the Kingdom. The Prince, who was come as far as *Windſor*, was not a little ſtruck with the News: However, he ſent a Meſſenger to the King, to deſire his Stay at *Rocheſter*, till it could be known what was fit to be done; but the Meſſenger miſſing his Way, the King arrived at *London* the 16th of *December*, where he was received with Acclamations, as if he had been returning from Victory.

James, at his Return, iſſued out an Order of Council; which ſet forth, that his Majeſty

jeſty being given to underſtand, that divers Outrages had been committed in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, by burning, pulling down and defacing of Houſes, his Majeſty commanded all Lords Lieutenants, *&c.* to prevent ſuch Outrages for the future, and to bring the Authors of them to condign Puniſhment. This was his laſt publick Act, which crowned ſo many others done in his Reign in favour of the Papiſts: Moreover, he diſcharged an *Iriſh* Popiſh Biſhop, who had been committed to *Newgate*; and, during his ſhort Stay at *Whitehall*, ſcarce any but Prieſts and Papiſts were ſeen about him. 1688.

The King diſpatched the Earl of *Feverſham* with a Letter to the Prince, to invite him to the Palace of St *James*'s, with what Number of Guards and Troops he ſhould think convenient to bring, to ſee if they could amicably ſettle the publick Grievances. The Prince returned no Anſwer: But the Moment the Earl was out of his Preſence, Monſieur *Bentinck* demanded his Sword, and told him, he had Orders to arreſt him. This, without Doubt, was owing to his precipitately diſbanding the Army.

In the Council held by the Prince and *Engliſh* Lords who were with him, it was reſolved, that the Royal Palace of *Whitehall*, being ſtill crowded with *Iriſh* Papiſts, Prieſts and Jeſuits, his Highneſs could not with Safety remain at St *James*'s, where he muſt neceſſarily go the next Day, without his

1688. his Majesty and his Popish Guards were removed a reasonable Distance from *London*.

Pursuant to this Resolution, the Prince of *Orange* signed an Order, directed to the Marquiss of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*; desiring them to acquaint the King, that as the Prince's Presence was absolutely necessary at *London*, he was desired to remove to *Ham*, a House belonging to the Dutchess of *Lauderdale*. It appears from this, that the King's Interposition was no longer considered as absolutely necessary to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom.

Immediately after, the Prince ordered the Regiment of his Guards to march and take Possession of all the Posts about *Whitehall* and St *James*'s, either by fair Means or Force, which was accordingly done; so the King was then absolutely in the Power of the Prince of *Orange*.

The same Night that the *Dutch* Guards took Possession, the Lords delivered the Prince's Message to the King, to desire his Departure to *Ham*: Upon which the King sent to the Prince, to desire he might go to *Rochester*; which being granted, he went thither the next Day.

The Prince arrived in *London* the same Day that the King left it, and lodged at St *James*'s, where he received the Compliments of the Nobility, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*.

From this time the King had no Power; the

the Great Officers of the Crown laid down the Badges of their Offices, as the Staff, the Key, *&c.* 1688.

During the publick Rejoicings at *London*, the Mob made a second Insurrection, and insulted the Houses of Papists, without Exception of those of the Ambassadors. At last the Privy-Council ordered, that all Foreigners should be permitted quietly to leave the Kingdom. The Prince sent Passes to the Pope's Nuncio, the Envoys of *Poland*, *Savoy*, and *Modena*.

The Popish Lords, *Langdale* and *Montgomery*, were set at Liberty: But the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Salisbury* were kept in Custody, on account of Impeachments entered in Form against them. Romish Priests and Jesuits, who had been apprehended since the King's Flight, were likewise detained.

As it was absolutely necessary to put an End to the Anarchy, under which the Nation then laboured, the Prince assembled the Lords Spiritual and Temporal at *London*, to the Number of about 60, and made a Speech to them; wherein he told them, he had desired them to meet to concert the best Manner how to pursue the Ends of his Declaration, in calling a free Parliament for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and restoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom.

After voting him their Thanks, they resolved to meet every Day in their old House at *Westminster*, and named five of the most eminent

1688. eminent Lawyers to aſſiſt them in the Room of the Judges, who were moſt of them abſent. It was further propoſed, they ſhould all ſign the Aſſociation, and all agreed; the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, and all the Biſhops (*London* excepted.)

The King, on the 23d of *December*, embarked on board a ſmall Frigate, which landed him ſafely in *France*, with the Duke of *Berwick*, his natural Son, and ſome few more. This Flight afterwards furniſhed the Pretext of his Abdication; and that paved the Way for the Prince to aſcend the Throne.

He left a Paper, written with his own Hand when he took Ship, exclaiming againſt the Uſage of the Prince of *Orange*, under the ſpecious Pretences of Religion and Property: That he would be within a Call when the Nation's Eyes were opened, and ſhould be brought to ſuch a Temper, that a legal Parliament might be called: That he had often ventured his Life for the Good of the Nation; and would once more do it, to redeem it from the Slavery it was now like to fall under.

THE
INTER-REGNUM,
OR
VACANCY *of the* THRONE.

AS ſoon as the Lords were acquainted with the King's Departure, they believed themſelves inveſted with a Power of acting in their own Names; eſpecially as there was then no Parliament in being. The Peers were inveſted with all the Power remaining in the Nation, as they ſtood neareſt the Throne, till Things were brought back to their old Channel by the Body of the Nation, repreſented in Parliament; for the Kingdom was then in ſuch a State as no Time paſt ever ſaw the like. So extraordinary Methods of acting were neceſſary; becauſe the Exigencies of the State required it, as the King had abandoned his Kingdom without any Conſtraint put upon him.

The firſt Thing done by the Peers, after conſulting together, was the addreſſing the Prince of *Orange*, "to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, both Civil

1688. and Military; the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue; and the Care of *Ireland*, till the Convention (of which there has been already mention) could aſſemble." They next addreſſed him, "to iſſue out miſſive Letters, ſubſcribed by himſelf, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Proteſtants, and to the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Boroughs; containing Directions for the chuſing, within ten Days, ſuch a Number of Perſons to repreſent them, as are of Right to be ſent to Parliament."

The Word *Convention*, to ſignify a Parliament aſſembled without the cuſtomary Formalities, was new in *England*, nor had ever been made uſe of, in this Senſe, but once; and that was after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II.

This made the Prince think, that, beſides the Suffrages of the Peers, it was neceſſary to be authorized by others, which might paſs for thoſe of the People. He therefore publiſhed an Order, "deſiring all ſuch Perſons as had ſerved in any of the Parliaments during the Reign of the late King *Charles* II. to meet him at St *James*'s upon the 26th of *December*, by 10 o'Clock in the Morning. He deſired likewiſe, that the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, of the City of *London*, and 50 of the Common-Council, would be there at the ſame Time." In purſuance of this Order, about 160 Members, the Aldermen of *London* (the Mayor being indiſpoſed) and the Deputies of

of the Common-Council, met at the Time and Place appointed. 1688.

The Prince told them in few Words, "that he had desired them to meet him there, to advise the best Manner how to pursue the Ends of his Declaration."

They all repaired immediately to the House of Commons in *Westminster*; where the first Question debated was, What Authority they had to assemble? But that Question was silenced by a general Concurrence, that the Request of the Prince was a sufficient Warrant. The next Question was, How the Prince could take upon him the Administration of Affairs without a distinguishing Name or Title? But this being dropt, they went upon further Debates; and resolved to address the Prince, after the Pattern of the Lords, to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, untill the Meeting of the intended Convention. The Answer returned by the Prince to this Address, and that of the Lords, was the same, "That he would endeavour, as far as he was able, to secure the Peace of the Nation according to their Desire."

The Prince, as soon as he was intrusted with the Administration of Affairs, ordered the *French* Ambassador, who had been active to promote Divisions amongst the Peers, to depart the Kingdom in Twenty-four Hours.

On *Sunday*, the 30th of *December*, the Prince of *Orange* went to the Royal Chapel

1688. at St *James*'s; where he was preſent at divine Service and Sermon, and received the Sacrament. This Publick Profeſſion, of the *Engliſh* eſtabliſhed Religion, ſerved not a little to diſſipate the Fears of thoſe who dreaded his too zealous Adherence to the Preſbyterian Religion, in which he had been educated.

The next Day the Prince iſſued a Proclamation, authorizing all Publick Officers, not being Papiſts, to act in their reſpective Offices till the Meeting of the intended Convention, or Order to the contrary.

The ſame Day he paid a Viſit to the Queen Dowager, who aſked of him the Liberty of her Chamberlain, the Earl of *Feverſham*; which he granted with a very good Grace.

As to the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Prince's Declaration for that Kingdom was much the ſame as in *England*; and he being unable at that time to viſit *Scotland*, gave Notice to the *Scots* Peers and Gentlemen then in *London*, that he would be glad to talk with them at St *James*'s on the Publick Affairs. Thirty Lords, and fourſcore Gentlemen, waited on him; of whom he aſked Advice (as he had of the *Engliſh*) what could be done for the ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtoring their Laws and Liberties, according to his Declaration?

Upon this the Lords and Gentlemen repaired to the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*; and having choſen the Duke of *Ha-*

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milton their Prefident, confulted upon the 1688.
Advice moft proper to be given to the Prince. This Affair was, in effect, fettled the firft Day. But the next Day they were croffed by a Propofal from the Earl of *Arran*, that the King fhould be defired to return and call a free Parliament. The Tendency of this was eafily feen, and therefore met with univerfal Difcouragement.

At laft it was agreed to prefent an Addrefs to the Prince of *Orange*, to defire him to take upon him the Adminiftration of all Affairs both Civil and Military; and to call a General Meeting of the States, to be holden the 14th of *March* following. The Prince returned an Anfwer much the fame in Subftance that he had done to the *Englifh*.

The Affairs in *Ireland* had not fo favourable an Afpect as in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, a zealous Papift, and Creature to the King, was Lord-Lieutenant, and at the Head of an Army moulded by himfelf, of which the Officers and Soldiers were generally Papifts. There was Room therefore to fear, that the Earl would not abide by the Refolutions taken in *England*.

Mean while the Prince of *Orange* having received Addreffes, not only from the Lords and Commons of *England*, relating to *Ireland*, but likewife from the Proteftants of that Kingdom, could not excufe himfelf from attempting to procure the Happinefs of a Nation, which depended upon *England*. It was, therefore, thought proper to fummon

1688. mon the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, by a Letter, to submit to the present Adminiſtration in *England*.

The Delivery of the Letter was committed to the Care of Colonel *Hamilton*, who promiſed to ſecond it with his Perſuaſions; but it was afterwards known, that he was one of the moſt zealous Oppoſers of the Meaſures propoſed in it.

The Prince had ordered the Forces diſbanded by the Earl of *Feverſham* to re-aſſemble; and diſcharged the Arrears of the *Engliſh* Army with 200,000 *l.* advanced in four Days by the City of *London*. After this, he put all Popiſh Officers out of Commiſſion, and filled up the Vacancies with Proteſtants; and put the Army under ſuch a Regulation as might render it ſerviceable to the State.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had hitherto declined waiting on the Prince; but at laſt he ſent his Complements, and, with eight Biſhops more, ſigned the Aſſociation. Soon after, about 90 diſſenting Miniſters attended the Prince, and aſſured him of their Prayers for the Preſervation of his Perſon, the Succeſs of his Endeavours, and for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion. The Prince returned a favourable Anſwer.

In the mean time the Elections for the Members of the Convention were carried on with all imaginable Freedom, without the leaſt Endeavours, uſed by the Prince, to have one Man elected rather than another; and

and, to avoid any Sufpicion, he ordered all Soldiers to remove at fome Diftance from the Places of Election. 1688.

The Prince, confidering that the Convention was to fettle the Government, thought it proper to fend for his Spoufe the Princefs; fince if, as was probable, the Convention fhould declare the Throne vacant, no Perfon had a jufter Pretenfion to it than herfelf. But the fevere Froft retarded her Departure from *Holland* longer than was expected.

The Convention met, the 22d of *January*, in two Houfes like a Parliament. The Peers chofe the Marquis of *Halifax* for their Speaker, and the Commons Mr *Powle*. In each Houfe was read a Letter of the Prince of *Orange*, which he addreffed to both.

He recommended to them, to lay the Foundation of a firm Security for their Religion, their Laws, and their Liberties; and alfo to confider of a large and fpeedy Succour in favour of the Proteftants in *Ireland*. He alfo defired their Affiftance in favour of the States-General, againft a powerful Enemy who had declared War againft them.

This Letter being read, the two Houfes prefented an Addrefs to the Prince; in which they acknowledged him, under God, the Deliverer of the Nation; and prayed him to continue the Adminiftration, till further Application fhould be made to him by them.

The firft Thing done by the two Houfes, was

1688. was the appointing a general Thankſgiving for the happy Deliverance of the Nation; with an Order to inſert a particular Prayer for the Prince of *Orange*.

In the mean time King *James*, ſenſible of the Prejudice which his Flight had done him, endeavoured to prevent the Conſequence by a Letter to the Lords and others of his Privy Council; in which he declared his Intention to return to *England* for the holding a free Parliament, and required their Advice; but no Regard was paid to it. After, he writ to both Houſes of the Convention two Letters; which were returned unopened. His Friends complained of this Behaviour as a very great Hardſhip.

Mr *Dolben*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, made a long Speech in the Convention, to prove the Vacancy of the Throne by the voluntary Deſertion of King *James*; upon this aroſe great Debates, which ended with this memorable Vote.

"That King *James* the Second having "endeavoured to ſubvert the Conſtitution "of the Kingdom, by breaking the origi-"nal Contract between King and People; "and, by the Advice of Jeſuits and other "wicked Perſons, having violated the fun-"damental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf "out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the "Government; and that the Throne is "thereby become vacant."

The next Day the Commons voted further, "That it it hath been found by Expe-

"perience, to be inconſiſtent with this Pro- 1688.
"teſtant Kingdom to be governed by a "Popiſh Prince."

They preſented likewiſe an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, for ſtopping all Ships that were going to *France*. They voted Thanks to the Clergy, who had refuſed to read in the Churches the King's Declaration for a Toleration.

The like was voted to the Officers and Soldiers, for having teſtified their ready Adherence to the Proteſtant Religion; and theſe Votes were ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, for their Concurrence.

But in the Houſe of Lords Matters did not go with that Unanimity. The Lords began to conſider the Vote of the Commons concerning the Vacancy of the Throne. The firſt Motion was, "Not to agree "with the Commons, that the Throne "was vacant; but only to ſuppoſe it for "the preſent, leaving it to be further exa- "mined afterwards, in order to cut ſhort "ſeveral other Queſtions, by determining "this firſt, *Whether the Throne, being va-* "*cant, it ought to be filled up by a Regent* "*or a King?* The Earl of *Nottingham*, who was at the Head of the Party for a Regent, made a long Speech, alledging ſundry Arguments for a Regency, taken from the *Engliſh* and other Hiſtories. He inſiſted particularly upon what had very lately paſſed in *Portugal*; where *Alphonſo* VI. be-

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1689. ing depoſed, his Brother, *Don Pedro*, had only the Title of Regent of the Kingdom.

The Marquis of *Halifax* and the Earl of *Danby* demonſtrated, on the other Side, the inſuperable Difficulties attending the Adminiſtration of the Government under a Regent. In fine, after a very long Debate, the Queſtion being put to the Vote, Fifty-one were for a King, and Forty-nine only for a Regent. Twelve Biſhops were among the laſt, and but two among the firſt; namely, Dr *Compton*, Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was abſent.

After this the Queſtion was put in the Houſe of Lords, *Whether or no there was an original Contract between King and People?* which paſſed in the Affirmative.

The next Day the Lords took into Conſideration the Word, *Abdicated*; and concluded, that the Word, *Deſerted*, was more proper. They next examined the Word, *Vacant*, and put this Queſtion, *Whether King* James, *having broke that original Contract between him and his People, and deſerted the Government, the Throne was thereby vacant?*

The Debates upon this Queſtion were longer, and more warm, than any of the former, and was carried in the Negative by eleven Voices.

On the Morrow Forty Lords enter'd their Proteſtations againſt the Vote, as the Vote of the Lords was founded upon the Crown's

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ſing, upon the King's Demiſe, immediately to the next Heir, without any Vacancy. Some of the other Party moved, "that ſuppoſing King *James* to "be dead in Law, the Prince and Princeſs "of *Orange* ſhould be declared King and "Queen." But this was alſo carried in the Negative, by five Voices. 1689.

The Lord Mayor and City of *London* finding theſe Difficulties continued in the Houſe of Lords, drew up a Petition, to be preſented to them; deſiring, in plain Terms, that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* might be ſettled on the Throne. Care was taken to have all ſorts of Hands to this Petition, that, by the great Number of Subſcribers, it might paſs for the Senſe of the People in general: But the Prince of *Orange*, not liking this way of proceeding, ſent the Lord Mayor Orders to put a Stop to this tumultuous Project; which the Lord Mayor did accordingly.

The Lords ſent a Meſſage, to acquaint the Commons with the two Amendments: The firſt Amendment was, inſtead of the Word, *abdicated*, they would have, *deſerted*, to be put in; the ſecond, that the Words, *and that the Throne is thereby become vacant*, ſhould be left out.

The Commons, not pleaſed with theſe two Amendments, appointed a Committee, to draw up Reaſons why they muſt inſiſt upon their Vote; and deſired a Conference with the Lords upon that Subject.

1688. This Conference produced no Effect, each House persisting in their Opinion; yet was the most remarkable ever held in *England*, as well on account of the Importance of the Thing itself, as for the Ability of the Managers, who spun out the Conference to a great Length, by long Speeches.

During all the grand Debates in the Convention, the Prince of *Orange* staid at St *James*'s, without taking the least Pains to gain any Person to his Party. The two Houses were surprized that no Body spoke to them in the Prince's Behalf.

At last, the Prince finding an ill Construction might be put upon his Silence, and that it might be inferred, he was unwilling to take upon him the Weight of Royalty, sent for the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earls of *Danby*, *Shrewsbury*, and some others, and told them,

"He had been till then silent, because he would not say or do any Thing that might seem in any sort to take from any Person the full Freedom of deliberating and voting in Matters of such Importance. Some were for putting the Government into the Hands of a Regent: He would say nothing against it, but thought proper to tell them he would not be the Regent. Others were for putting the Princess singly on the Throne, and that he should reign by her Courtesy: He said, no Man could esteem a Woman more than he did the Princess; but he was so made, that

that he could not think of holding any 1689.
Thing by Apron-ſtrings; nor could he think of having any Share in the Government, unleſs it was put in his Perſon, and that for Term of Life. If they did think fit to ſettle it otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe them in it; but would go back to *Holland*, and meddle no more in their Affairs. In the End, he ſaid, he could not reſolve to accept of a Dignity, ſo as to hold it only by the Life of another: Yet, he thought, that the Iſſue of the Princeſs *Ann* ſhould be preferr'd in the Succeſſion, to any Iſſue he might have by any other Wife than the Princeſs."

This Declaration being immediately told about by thoſe it was made to, was a great Means to put an End to the Debates in the Houſe of Lords: As for the Commons, about two Thirds were for the Prince.

It was moved in the Houſe of Lords, that the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* might be examined. But this Motion was rejected for ſeveral Reaſons: 1ſt, The Prince of *Wales* was now ſent into *France*, an Enemy both to the Nation and the eſtabliſh'd Religion. What, therefore, would ſuch Examination ſignify? 2d, It was impoſſible for the People of *England* to know whether he was the ſame Perſon that had been carried over. 3d, In caſe he ſhould die, another might be put in his Room, and the Nation impoſed on without being able to diſcover it.

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1689. 4th, The Nation ought not to ſend into another Country for Witneſſes, to prove that he was their Prince, eſpecially an Enemy's Country. 5th, It was known, that all Perſons who had been the Confidants in that Matter were conveyed away; ſo it was impoſſible to come at the Truth by any Examination.

The Lords, after a long Debate, by a Majority departed from their own Amendments, and agreed with the Vote of the Commons: "That King *James* had abdicated the Government, and that the Throne was thereby become vacant."

This great Step being made, the next Thing in Debate was, Who ſhould fill the vacant Throne. It was readily agreed, that the Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be placed on the Throne: But the Queſtion was, Whether the Prince ſhould be King of himſelf, or as Huſband of the Princeſs: Upon this, Parties began to be formed in both Houſes.

The Princeſs being ſtill detained by contrary Winds, the Earl of *Danby* ſent one over to her, with an Account of the preſent State of the Debate; and to tell her, that if ſhe deſired it, he did not doubt, but he ſhould be able to carry it, for ſetting her alone on the Throne.

The Princeſs anſwered, "She was the Prince's Wife, and would never be other than what ſhould be in Conjunction with him, and under him." Adding, "That

ſhe

ſhe would take it very ill, if any, under a 1689.
Pretence of their Care for her, would ſet up a divided Intereſt between her and the Prince." Not content with this, ſhe ſent the Lord *Danby*'s Letter, and her Anſwer, to the Prince.

The Earl of *Danby* received not the leaſt Mark of Diſpleaſure from the Prince, who continued ſtill to employ and truſt him.

At laſt both Houſes agreed, and voted ſeverally, that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be King and Queen of *England*; but that the ſole and full Regal Power ſhould be in the Prince only, in the Name of both. However, it was carried in the Houſe of Lords by three Voices only, and not without a Proteſtation enter'd againſt it by the contrary Party.

The laſt Debate was concerning the Oaths that ſhould be taken to the King and Queen. To avoid the Cavils that might be made at the Terms (*rightful and lawful King*) in the uſual Oath, it was thought proper to reduce the Oath to the antient Simplicity, of ſwearing to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King and Queen. Hence came this famous Diſtinction of a King *de facto*, and a King *de jure*: Some pretending that they took the Oath to the King and Queen only as King and Queen *de facto*, whom they were bound to obey no longer than they continued in quiet Poſſeſſion; but that it was lawful for them to aſſiſt King *James*, if he ſhould

1689. ſhould come to recover his Crown, as being ſtill their King *de jure*.

At length the Princeſs of *Orange* arrived at *London*, and ſeemed very well pleaſed with what had been reſolved, that the Adminiſtration of the Government ſhould be in the Prince only, in the Name of both. Thus the ſtrict Union between the Prince and Princeſs broke the Meaſures of ſuch as hoped to breed a Miſunderſtanding between them, and thereby have an Occaſion to ſerve their old Maſter.

The next Day the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, being ſeated in two large Chairs, under a Canopy of State, in the Banquetting Houſe, both Houſes of the Convention waited upon them in a full Body, to offer them the Crown: But before they proceeded to this ſolemn Tender, they cauſed the Clerk of the Crown to read a Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*.

This Declaration ſet forth all the Grievances which the Nation laboured under in King *James* II.'s Time, and that the Prince of *Orange* having undertaken a Redreſs of theſe Grievances, and King *James* II. having abdicated the Crown, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* do reſolve, "that *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, be, and be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto be-

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longing, to hold the ſame during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the ſole and full Exerciſe of the Royal Power be only in, and executed by the ſaid Prince, in the Names of the ſaid Prince and Princeſs, during their joint Lives; and after their Deceaſe, the ſaid Crown and Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, to be to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of the Prince of *Orange*." 1689.

The Prince and Princeſs accepted the Offer, and promiſed, to the utmoſt of their Power, to preſerve their Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and were proclaimed King and Queen, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the People, on the 13th of *February*, 1688.

King *James* II.'s natural Iſſue was as follows:

1ſt, By Mrs *Arabella Churchill*, Siſter of *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, afterwards married to Colonel *Godfrey*, 1. *James Fitz-James*, 2. *Henry Fitz-James*, 3. *Henrietta*, who married *Henry* Lord *Waldgrave*.

2d, Mrs *Catharine Sedley*, Daughter of Sir *Charles Sedley*, Baronet, created Baroneſs of *Darlington*, and Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*; afterwards married to Sir *David Collier*, the late Earl of *Portmore*. He had *Catharine Darnley*, who married *James Anneſley*, the

Earl

1689. Earl of *Anglesea*; by whom he had *Catharine Annesley*, who married *William Phips*, Esq; Son of Sir *Constantine Phips*. Afterwards she married *John Sheffield*, Duke of *Buckingham* and *Normandy*, by whom she had *Edmund*, the present Duke of *Buckingham*.